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FBIS-SOV-89-026 CONTENTS *9 February 1989*

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ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Yazov Criticizes West's 'Selective' Arms Data *[PRAVDA 9 Feb]* 1
FRG Praised for Stopping Work on New Missile *[TASS]* 4
Consultations on Disarmament Held With France *[TASS]* 4
Unilateral Force Reduction To Begin 'This Year' *[TASS]* 4

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

U.S.-Iran 'Plot' To Block Afghan Consensus *[Baykov in PRAVDA 9 Feb]* 6
Gorbachev, Reagan Nominated for Nobel Prize *[Moscow TV]* 6
Secretary Baker To Visit Europe for NATO Meetings *[Zholkver on Moscow Radio]* 6
Israel Under Fire at UN Human Rights Session *[Bolshakov in PRAVDA 8 Feb]* 7
'Repercussions' Program on Asia, Pacific 7
'Restraint' Urged in Regional Conflicts *[Vasilyev in IZVESTIYA 4 Feb]* 10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Bessmertnykh Receives U.S. Ambassador 6 Feb *[TASS]* 13
KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Reports Baker TIME Interview *[7 Feb]* 13
Armenian Patriarch Begins U.S. Visit *[TASS]* 13
U.S. Human Rights Report on Israel Viewed *[Yakubov on TASS]* 13

China

Improved PRC Ties, Shevardnadze Visit Viewed 14
    'Good-Neighborly' Ties Restored *[Moscow TV]* 14
    PRC Analyst Welcomes Visit *[IZVESTIYA 9 Feb]* 14
'Most Important, Major Event' *[Moscow Radio Peace and Progress]* 14
Academy Delegation Arrives in Beijing *[TASS]* 15

Northeast Asia

Japan 'Northern Territories' Rally Scored *[PRAVDA 8 Feb]* 15
U.S.-Japan Disagreement on USSR Seen *[IZVESTIYA 7 Feb]* 16
Japan Urged To Participate in Economic Zones *[Moscow International]* 17
USSR-Japan Venture Overcoming Problems *[Moscow International]* 18
LDP's Abe Meets Soviet Envoy on Armenia Relief *[Moscow International]* 18
Nikonov Receives MPRP Agricultural Delegation *[Moscow Radio]* 18

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Soviet Officer on Far East Troop Reductions *[Moscow International]* 19
USSR-PRC Statement on Cambodia Viewed *[Moscow International]* 20
Cambodia's Hun Sen Cited on Thailand Talks *[PRAVDA 4 Feb]* 21
UN Committee Discusses Cambodian Situation *[TASS]* 21
EEC Protests Human Rights Abuse in Burma *[Moscow International]* 21
Philippine Trade Official Views Moscow Seminar *[Moscow International]* 21
Messages Thank SRV for Quake Assistance 22

  Gorbachev Greets Leaders *[Hanoi VNA]* ... 22
  Ryzhkov Thanks Do Muoi *[Hanoi Radio]* ... 22
Gorbachev Message Thanks Indian Groups *[TASS]* ... 23

Near East & South Asia

USSR-Pakistan Statement on Shevardnadze Visit *[TASS]* ... 23
Shevardnadze Arrives in Moscow From Pakistan *[Moscow Radio]* ... 24
Troop Pullout From Afghanistan Continues ... 24
  Said 'In Full Swing' *[TASS]* ... 24
  Troops Arrive by Plane in Tashkent *[TASS]* ... 24
  Columns Cross Salang, Reach Termez *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 8 Feb]* ... 24
  UN Observers Cited *[Moscow TV]* ... 26
  UN Observers' Role Outlined *[TASS]* ... 27
Afghan Military Situation, Shura Preparations *[TASS]* ... 27
'Worsening Situation' Around Kabul Reported *[Moscow Radio]* ... 27
PDPA Inclusion Necessary to Afghan Settlement ... 28
  Exclusion Will Prolong Bloodshed *[TASS]* ... 28
  Prepared for Struggle If Necessary *[IZVESTIYA 9 Feb]* ... 28
Afghan USSR Envoy Confident on Kabul Army *[TASS]* ... 29
Najibullah Addresses Clergy in Kabul *[TASS]* ... 30
Paper Says TASS Doubts Najibullah Survival *[Rome L'UNITA 8 Feb]* ... 30
Turkish Help on Afghanistan POW's Requested ... 30
  Request Made to Foreign Ministry *[Ankara Radio]* ... 30
  Turkey Working To Secure Release *[Ankara Radio]* ... 31
Pakistan Trying To Unify Afghan Rebels *[TASS]* ... 31
Kabul's Wakil, UN Official Discuss Human Rights *[TASS]* ... 31
Soviet Kuwait Envoy on Afghanistan, Saudi Ties *[Kuwait ARAB TIMES 4 Feb]* ... 31
Moscow-Tel Aviv Air Link Not Discussed in Talks *[MOSCOW NEWS No 6]* ... 32
Oil Minister Visits Iraq for Trade Talks ... 32
  Meets Iraqi Counterpart *[TASS]* ... 32
  Meets With Deputy Prime Minister *[TASS]* ... 33
Dobrynin, Egyptian Envoy Discuss Mideast *[TASS]* ... 33
Zotov Appointed New Ambassador to Syria *[TASS]* ... 33

East Europe

Academician Comments on 'Crisis' in Socialism *[Moscow Radio]* ... 33
  Budapest Radio Highlights Remarks ... 34
Explosion Damages Building in Czechoslovakia *[PRAVDA 9 Feb]* ... 34
Urban Comments on Polish Reforms, Problems *[PRAVDA 3 Feb]* ... 34
Romanian Paper Cited on Treaty Anniversary *[PRAVDA 6 Feb]* ... 38

West Europe

Shevardnadze Addresses West Europe Envoys *[PRAVDA 8 Feb]* ... 38
European Parliamentarians Visit Lithuania *[TASS]* ... 39
Lukyanov Receives New Luxembourg Envoy *[TASS]* ... 40
Italy Marks 65 Years of Relations With USSR *[TASS]* ... 40
Greek Communists Urge Left-Wing Pact *[PRAVDA 6 Feb]* ... 41
U.S.-Greek Dialogue on Bases Continues *[Moscow International]* ... 41

Latin America & Caribbean

Castro on OAS, Hopes for Bush Administration *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 5 Feb]* ... 41
Aftermath of Paraguay Coup Considered *[PRAVDA 7 Feb]* ... 42
Delegation Returns From Venezuela Inauguration *[IZVESTIYA 8 Feb]* ... 42
Guerrillas Attack U.S. Convoy in Honduras *[TASS]* ... 42

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

- More on People's Deputies Election Campaigns ... 44
  - Central Electoral Commission's Work *[PRAVDA 7 Feb]* ... 44
  - Moiseyev Presents Platform *[Moscow Radio]* ... 45
  - NKAO Nominates Volskiy *[Moscow International]* ... 45
  - *Nominations in Stavropol *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 3 Feb]* ... 46
  - Candidates' Rights, Campaign Rules *[IZVESTIYA 5 Feb]* ... 48
- USSR Procuracy Collegium Meets on Restructuring *[Moscow Radio]* ... 50
  - Meeting Ends 8 Feb *[TASS]* ... 51
- Reinstitution of School History Exam Planned *[Moscow Radio]* ... 51
- Article Urges Economic, Political Pluralism *[Proshechkin in SOVETSKAYA LITVA 29 Jan]* ... 51
- Rallies of Non-Lithuanian Speakers Protest Decree *[Vilnius International]* ... 52
- Lithuanian Party, Sayudis Representatives Consult *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 27 Jan]* ... 53
- Lithuanian Liberty League Leader on Independence *[Vilnius International]* ... 53
- Lithuanian Journalists' Congress Opens 27 Jan *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 28 Jan]* ... 54
- Catholic Magazine Begins Circulation in Lithuania *[TASS]* ... 55
- Latvian Party Ponders Interfront Congress *[SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 26 Jan]* ... 55
- Latvian Interfront Member Views Congress *[SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 27 Jan]* ... 57
- Latvian Academician Reviews Progress in Republic *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 2 Feb]* ... 59
- Estonia's Vyalyas Disowns 'Separatism' Movements *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 26 Jan]* ... 62
- NKAO Special Administration Organ Begins Work *[BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 26 Jan]* ... 63
- NKAO Registers No Recent Ethnic-Motivated Crime *[Moscow International]* ... 64
- More on MVD Briefing on Transcaucasian Discord *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 8 Feb]* ... 64
  - Crimes, Disturbances Controlled *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 8 Feb]* ... 65
- Ryzhkov Thanks C. Aznavour for Armenian Quake Aid *[PRAVDA 8 Feb]* ... 66
  - TASS Reports Aznavour Meeting *[TASS]* ... 67
- Stepanavan's Reconstruction Work 'Insufficient' *[Yerevan Radio]* ... 67
- Azerbaijan Party Nationalities Commission Meets *[Baku Radio]* ... 67
- Life 'Returning to Normal' in Tajikistan *[Moscow Radio]* ... 68
- Problem of 'Kazan Gangs' in Moscow Investigated *[IZVESTIYA 4 Feb]* ... 68
- Ukraine People's Restructuring Movement Meets *[Kiev International]* ... 69
- Ukraine Procurators Examine 1988 Results *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 31 Jan]* ... 70
- Acts Renaming Facilities After Zhdanov Cancelled *[RADYANSKA UKRAINA 31 Jan]* ... 72
- Contamination, Cleanup Around Chernobyl Reviewed *[Moscow International]* ... 72
- Chebrikov Visits New Moldavian Electronics Plants *[Moscow TV]* ... 73
- Moldavian CC Discusses Struggle Against Crime *[SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA 27 Jan]* ... 73
- 'Understandable Alarm' Over Kazakh Language Issue *[IZVESTIYA 3 Feb]* ... 73
- Election of Krasnoyarsk Gorkom Official Viewed *[Pyrkh in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 1 Feb]* ... 75
- Ideological Foundations of Restructuring Stressed *[PRAVDA 7 Feb]* ... 77
- AIDS Expert Urges Universal Preventive Measures *[Moscow TV]* ... 78
- Rostropovich, Wife Reinstated in Composers' Union *[TASS]* ... 79
- New Political Biography of Bukharin Reviewed *[PRAVDA 5 Feb]* ... 79
- Restrictions on Private Book Publication Relaxed *[TASS]* ... 80

Economic

- Pricing Official Comments on Government Decree *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 5 Feb]* ... 80
- Siberians Question Industrial Projects *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jan]* ... 83

Agricultural

- All-Union Food Production Conference Concludes ... 83
  - Ligachev Speaks; Shcherbitskiy Present *[Moscow TV]* ... 83
  - Further on Ligachev Speech *[TASS]* ... 84
- 1988 Grain Harvest 25.6 Million Tonnes Short *[PRAVDA 8 Feb]* ... 84
- Agricultural Developments Reported for 2-8 Feb ... 85
- *Tselinograd Oblast Triples Vegetable Output *[IZVESTIYA 29 Jan]* ... 85

Military

Gen Lizichev Gives Series of Political Speeches 87
    Rally at 'X' Garrison *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 5 Feb]* 87
    Kamchatka Meeting *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 7 Feb]* 87
    Chita Oblast Meeting *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 8 Feb]* 87

Yazov Criticizes West's 'Selective' Arms Data

PM0802201589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 89 First Edition p 4

[Article by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense: "Based on Principles of Realism and a Balance of Interests"]

[Text] Under pressure from life, conventional stereotypes of thinking, obsolete views of the problems of war and peace, and deliberations about ways and means of ensuring reliable security are receding and breaking down. The understanding is gaining ground that force and the threat of force cannot and must not be an instrument of policy in the nuclear age, that the buildup of military might makes no power omnipotent.

As a result of hard work, which demands much patience and stamina, and well-weighed and responsible approaches, new models of ensuring security are being conceived and formed on the basis of a switch in practice from the principle of superarmament to the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense.

The Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies demonstrated their determination to effect this switch when they adopted their new military doctrine in May 1987. This doctrine is geared to the solution of a task which is universal in its importance, and which has a dual aim as regards its content, that is, preventing war and safeguarding socialism. The premises on which the Warsaw Pact doctrine is based are provided by three organically interconnected provisions. The first is aimed at maintaining a balance of military forces at the lowest possible level. The second confirms the expediency of a reduction of military potentials to levels of sufficiency necessary for defense. And the third proclaims the impermissibility under present conditions of the use of military methods to resolve any controversial international issue. Entirely in keeping with these provisions which define the military activity of both the Warsaw Pact and of each of its participants, the USSR and a number of its allies have adopted decisions on unilateral reductions of their armed forces.

The scale of the reductions which are being made in the Soviet Armed Forces is quite significant. This is obvious to any unprejudiced person, even though he may not be versed in military matters. It is enough to imagine for a minute that this is tantamount to eliminating the whole of the West German Bundeswehr from the NATO armed forces. After all, the strength of our Armed Forces is being reduced by 500,000 men—a figure comparable to the numerical strength of the Bundeswehr—with substantial cuts in conventional arms totaling 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft. Our military budget is being reduced by 14.2 percent and the production of arms and military hardware by 19.5 percent, or by just under one-fifth. At the same time, the Soviet Union is prepared to draw up and submit an internal [vnutrenniy] plan for the conversion of military production, and publish its experience in the resettlement of defense industry specialists in new jobs, and the utilization of defense industry plants, buildings, and installations in civilian production.

In the course of 2 years the entire deployment of our Armed Forces will change in line with a defensive spirit. After agreement with our allies, six tank divisions will be withdrawn from the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary by 1991, and disbanded. In addition, assault landing and a number of other types of combined units and units, including assault river-crossing units, complete with arms and combat hardware, are being removed from Soviet groups of forces stationed in these countries.

In all, Soviet forces in these countries will be reduced by more than 50,000 men. The number of tanks deployed there will be reduced considerably—by 5,300. The Soviet divisions that will remain on the territory of our allies will also be restructured. For instance, the number of tanks in the motorized infantry divisions of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the Central Group of Forces deployed in the CSSR will be reduced by 40 percent, and by more than 20 percent in tank divisions. The number of their antitank, air-defense, and engineering systems will be increased. The purpose of this restructuring is to give our divisions a clear-cut defensive structure.

More than 56,000 men, in excess of 1,900 tanks, 130 combat aircraft, and considerable quantities of other military hardware—these are the overall reductions which will be implemented in the fraternal armies by decision of the governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, and the CSSR. The military budgets of the allied countries will be reduced by 13.6 percent on average. The USSR's armed forces in Europe and the armies of the other Warsaw Pact countries will be reduced by a total of 296,300 men, almost 12,000 tanks, 930 combat aircraft, and very substantial quantities of other arms.

I am deliberately focusing attention on the cutbacks of armed forces and armaments which will be carried out unilaterally in the European part of the USSR and on the territory of our European allies, although, as is well-known, these reductions are not confined to Europe. I am especially citing detailed statistical information illustrating the volume, nature, and thrust of the unilateral cuts in the Warsaw Pact military potential. Statistics have a paramount role to play in substantiating conclusions and assessments, motivating stances, and defining prospects of development. However, this role may be either positive or negative, depending on how objectively the initial data is used.

In front of me are two publications. One of them—"Conventional Forces in Europe: The Facts"—was circulated by NATO countries at the Vienna meeting of CSCE member states on 25 November 1988. The other—"The Warsaw Pact and NATO: Correlation of Forces in Europe"—was published in PRAVDA 30 January 1989. Prior to subjecting them to a brief analysis, let me recall what led to their publication.

Back in March 1988 the Warsaw Pact states proposed that authorized information on armed forces and conventional arms of the countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Europe be exchanged. The NATO countries failed to give a positive answer to this proposal. Yet 8 months later a version of the correlation of forces appeared in the West, which is based on a selective approach and has little in common with the actual situation.

Under these circumstances, the Warsaw Pact states deemed it appropriate to present the international public with the real picture. In order to do this, it is necessary to include in the calculations everything that makes up the armed forces in reality, all their components which are inextricably linked with each other and are constantly cooperating closely with each other, complementing and strengthening each other. This view of the armed forces is entirely natural. An arbitrary exclusion from the assessments of any component, not to mention a whole branch of the armed forces, placing certain data "in parentheses," and the adjustment of statistics to fit a preset pattern inevitably leads to knowingly incorrect conclusions. Only a comprehensive, rather than selective, analysis makes it possible to tread on the firm ground of facts.

In December of last year, at the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee session, we adopted the statement "On the Correlation of Force Strengths and Armaments of the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Alliance in Europe and Adjoining Waters." It was decided to publish the strictly checked-out numerical data relating to both the personnel and the quantities of the main types of armaments of both the alliances as of 1 July 1988, so that both experts and nonspecialists would be able to see the real state of affairs.

There are two publications, two views, not just as regards the current state of affairs, but also the prospects. On one side there is the old bias toward negotiating unilateral advantages for oneself by hook or by crook, a continuation of the attempts to resolve one's security concerns to the detriment of other states or at their expense. On the other side there is the new political thinking with an emphasis on recognizing the priority of universal human values, the indivisibility of security, and the need to outline in practical terms the task of preventing war and creating a nuclear-free, nonviolent world.

Understandably, progress along the road toward such a world can only be joint. It is neither an easy nor a short road, it leads over obstacles presented by distrust, suspicion, and hostility of which more than enough were erected in the past. But there is no sensible alternative to this road. And someone must take the first step. This initiative was taken on by the Soviet Union, supported by the Warsaw Pact member states. A special place in the series of our efforts belongs to the 15 January 1988 statement formulating a program for building a nuclear-free world by the year 2000, later complemented and further developed at the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Reykjavik. Recently we marked the first anniversary of the signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles which paved the way to the elimination of a very important class of nuclear arms. The process of negotiations to reduce strategic offensive arms by 50 percent and to ban chemical weapons is advancing. The effectiveness of new, realistic approaches to international affairs is also borne out by the adoption at the Vienna meeting of the mandate for talks on conventional armed forces in Europe which are due to open in March.

The Soviet Union's vigorous and persistent activity in the interests of reducing the danger of war, which is pursued in close unity and coordination with our socialist friends, encounters the broadest response around the world. There is certainly a pattern to the fact that it is seen as a natural expression of the revolutionary restructuring and the new political thinking. That is precisely the way M.S. Gorbachev's UN appeal for mankind to enter on a peaceful period in its history was received.

The Soviet policy of peace is driven by the logic of development based on realism, on a balance of interests among the sides and among all members of the world community. What is on the agenda now is a decisive switch from rivalry to cooperation, a deideologization of interstate relations, and the removal from those relations of the heavy burden of the "enemy image," whereby both neighbors and partners are viewed over the top of a gunsight, albeit a gunsight much transformed by scientific-technical progress into the shape of sophisticated combat systems. This logic is being expressed in targeted efforts to demilitarize international relations and cure mankind of the serious illness that has spread its tumors not for years but for many centuries into every sphere—economics, politics, ideology, science, and culture—and whose diagnosis is: a craving for excessive armament and gambling on military force.

But a different kind of logic is still at large too. It is vividly demonstrated in the reaction of certain Western circles to the new Soviet initiatives and the Defense Ministers Committee statement. I am thinking, in particular, of the attempts made—in contrast to the mostly positive appraisals of the actual publication of the statement—to cast doubt on the conclusion set out in our document that the military balance in Europe is characterized by approximate parity if all its constituents are taken into account, and that neither side can count on a a decisive military advantage. There are NATO people straining to prove that the catalogue of armaments and armed forces ought to be drawn up taking the viewpoint of the Vienna mandate on the subject matter of future talks, and that everything else should be ignored so as not to complicate the search for accords on conventional armed forces in Europe.

The USSR and its allies never had and do not have any desire to retouch the Vienna mandate. No one should be in any doubt about this, however: The conventional arms reduction talks will succeed only if the participants give up trying directly or indirectly to secure advantages over others by resorting to various kinds of manipulation.

Indeed, what constructive assistance to the success of the talks can come from speculations about "the absence of parity" and the Warsaw Pact's "overwhelming superiority" over the North Atlantic alliance, made in the spirit of the NATO document to which I referred? The document obtains the disparity it is looking for by not including figures on naval forces, in which NATO possesses undoubted superiority over the Warsaw Pact, particularly in terms of carrier aircraft. The overall correlation of naval forces between the sides is characterized by a twofold NATO superiority in personnel numbers. In large surface ships the Atlantic alliance has a fivefold advantage. Moreover, its ships equipped with SLCM's—the preponderance in NATO's favor is 12-fold—are capable of delivering strikes against targets deep inside the territory of the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries. Incidentally, literally a few days ago the Canadian Government gave permission for the testing over its territory of an American cruise missile built using "Stealth" technology. According to press reports, Canadian National Defense Ministry spokesmen admitted that the new type of U.S. cruise missile could be employed as a "first-strike weapon" against the USSR.

Prominent among the arguments used by Western experts to justify the exclusion of ships and carrier-borne aircraft from the armaments taken into account in calculating the correlation between the potential of the two sides is the statement that they are, they say, constantly on the move and cannot be unequivocally attached to any particular region. What is more, they are supposedly designed for waging military actions at sea, and not on the European Continent. But they say nothing about the fact that U.S. and NATO naval forces are a main instrument employed to implement their policy of military strength.

Large-scale exercises are regularly held in the North Atlantic and in the northern seas adjoining Europe, and their scale is steadily increasing. Ships and combat aircraft of the 6th Fleet are permanently deployed in the Mediterranean, and over 170 American bases and other military facilities are maintained there, aimed against the socialist countries. The NATO statistics ignore amphibious forces whose designation is no secret to anyone. The fact is that the United States has the advantage over the Soviet Union almost sixfold in terms of total tonnage of landing ships, fourfold in terms of landing force capacity [desantovmestimost], and many times over in terms of numbers of marines.

The Warsaw Pact states are entirely right in wishing to have the naval forces of the two sides taken into account in calculating the balance of forces. Any other position would be contrived. It is long since time to start separate [samostoyatelnyy] talks on limiting naval activity, and extending to naval forces and to separate air force activity the confidence-building measures laid down by the Stockholm document and now being successfully implemented with respect to land forces. It helps no one to pretend that there are no problems or dangers when they do exist and are increasing.

The approach employed in the NATO document to calculating the correlation between the sides' air forces also needs translating into real substance. In actual fact there is approximate equality (1:1.1 in the Warsaw Pact's favor) in terms of front-line (tactical) Air Force aircraft, Air Defense aircraft, and Navy (naval forces) aircraft. Within these overall parameters we do have a large, 36-fold superiority in Air Defense interceptor aircraft. And we say so. But in order not to sin against the truth, so to say, there must be no secret about the indisputable fact that NATO has a 50-percent advantage in bombers, fighter-bombers, and attack aircraft, that is in strike aviation, and that the West has 2.4 times as many naval (naval forces) aircraft as the Warsaw Pact.

As for the statements which are current today among certain circles in the West regarding the unfairness of the division of tactical aircraft into strike aircraft and fighter aircraft, which cannot operate against ground-based targets, it is clear to any professional that this is nothing more than an excuse. This division reflects the actual reality, which cannot be taken away by vague arguments about the "multilevel nature" of the function of modern aircraft. And if we are talking about the gist of the matter, then it is the very nature of modern combat which, incidentally, is reflected fully enough in the concepts of the "air-land operation (battle)" and the "follow-on (reserve) forces attack" accepted in the United States and NATO, which determines the leading role of strike aircraft in resolving combat missions. Combat helicopters for which NATO, if you count its naval combat helicopters, has an almost twofold superiority over the Warsaw Pact, are also acquiring growing importance here.

Consequently, by relying on objective realities and not on illusions, in joint work to reduce the threat of war we must take into account everything which ensures the balanced reduction of those types of weapons which primarily embody this threat. These weapons obviously include strike aircraft, combat helicopters, and some other modern types of weapons.

Many of the NATO document's other positions are also a long way from any kind of objective assessment of the balance of forces. The numerical strength of infantry fighting vehicles and armored personnel carriers of the fraternal armies has been increased by almost 20,000 compared with the real figures to prove the Warsaw Pact's alleged "superiority." A substantial understating of the quantity of artillery in storage and a comparison of artillery systems for pieces and mortars with a caliber of

100 mm and more makes it possible to "withdraw" from the field of vision about 40,000 NATO pieces and mortars of smaller caliber. Extensive use is also made of the "statistical method" whereby, in order to obtain the correlation NATO needs, artillery divisions and individual artillery brigades, since they exist mainly in the armies of the socialist states, are included alongside combined-arms divisions.

In brief, this is an attempt by NATO, with the aid of specially selected "facts" prepared in the appropriate manner, to revive the phony thesis of the "Soviet military threat" and to use propaganda to shore up its demand for an unbalanced reduction of the Warsaw Pact armed forces. And at the same time, it attempts to justify the continuation of NATO's long-term military programs to equip the bloc's armed forces with new high-precision systems of conventional weapons, and automated control, communications, surveillance, and electronic warfare systems, as well. With these systems alone, it is planned, for instance, to increase the potential of NATO's ground forces by 40 percent.

Of course, we can see all this, we assess it in the proper manner, and we consider it in shaping our policy in defense building. We build our consistent course toward reasonable, reliable sufficiency for defense on the basis of the principles of realism and the balance of interests. No one should have any doubts as to that.

The figures cited in the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee statement give an accurate picture of the correlation of forces in Europe and adjacent waters. The point of this publication was not to "respond" to the publication of NATO's selective figures, nor to make some kind of propaganda effect on the eve of the talks on conventional armed forces, as some Western mass media are trying to assert. Such methods and intentions are alien to us. We have believed and continue to believe that European security requires immediate measures aimed at eliminating existing imbalances and asymmetries and substantially reducing the most dangerous offensive types of arms. The interests of lasting peace dictate the need to reach reduced ceilings for armed forces and to restructure the military structures of the two alliances with a view to imparting a strictly defensive nature to them.

The Warsaw Pact countries unilaterally adopted enterprising steps to reduce their armed forces and armaments and this is visible confirmation of their firm resolve to advance toward these goals. Naturally, Soviet people, like all people of goodwill on earth, would welcome countersteps from the NATO countries on the path of consolidating stability, security, and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

FRG Praised for Stopping Work on New Missile

LD0902124289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1055 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 9 Feb (TASS)—"A positive signal from Bonn"—this is how Major General Geliy Batenin, the military expert of the CPSU Central Committee, described the decision by the FRG Government to stop work on the creation of a new missile system intended to replace the "Pershing-1" missile. "This signal from the FRG is evidence of the fact that in Bonn they are not only maintaining the letter but also the spirit of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty which laid the foundations for the process of missile and nuclear disarmament on earth," he said.

In a conversation with TASS diplomatic correspondent Vadim Biryukov, the military expert stressed that the FRG Government's decision had been perceived in the Soviet Union as a specific reply to our unilateral disarmament initiatives. "In announcing the unilateral reduction in Soviet armed forces and arms from the rostrum on the UN General Assembly, we undoubtedly counted on this initiative being met in the NATO camp not only with understanding, but also with specific steps in return," said General Batenin. "The rejection of the development of a new missile is evidence of the fact that in the FRG capital they are being guided by new political thinking".

Bonn's decision is a practical contribution to the success of the coming Vienna talks on a reduction in armed forces and arms from the Atlantic to the Urals," the Soviet military expert thinks. "The fact that the USSR and the FRG are acting with an understanding of each other's position with regard to a sphere that is as vital to Europe as a reduction in armed forces and arms is satisfying," said Geliy Batenin.

In the 3 years of work by FRG and U.S. firms on developing the missile, which was to replace the "Pershing- 1", the FRG Government has spent $54 million.

Consultations on Disarmament Held With France

LD0802083289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0810 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 8 Feb (TASS)—Soviet-French consultations took place at the USSR Foreign Ministry on 6-7 February on topical problems of disarmament, including questions of banning chemical weapons and the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe. The consultations were also in connection with the preparation of an agreement on preventing incidents at sea outside territorial waters.

Unilateral Force Reduction To Begin 'This Year'

LD0802135589 Moscow TASS in English 1348 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 8 TASS—The Soviet Union's military budget will be slashed by 14.2 per cent in the next few years, Soviet Chief of Staff Mikhail Moiseyev said, describing the cuts as justified both politically and strategically.

Speaking in an interview with TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy, Colonel-General Moiseyev, who is first deputy Soviet defence minister, added that until recently the governing principle in the Soviet Union was that one can save on anything but defence.

Today, however, defence needs should be viewed in the light of all the other national problems and on the basis of thorough and comprehensive economic research.

"In other words, one should now learn to also save on defence," General Moiseyev said.

Political measures are becoming decisive for averting war but they should be combined with corresponding defence measures since only in this way is it possible to pursue a policy of peace and prevent attempts at international bullying, he continued.

"This is why, as we reduce our armed forces, we shall reorganize them according to the new tasks, giving them a more pronounced defensive posture but not detracting from their battleworthiness so as not to slip behind and upset the military balance," General Moiseyev stressed.

He said in this connection that "the announced unilateral reduction of our Army and Navy by 500,000 men will begin as early as this year and affect all components of our Armed Forces".

The withdrawal of the limited Soviet troop contingent from Afghanistan in keeping with the Geneva agreements is currently being completed and the last Soviet soldier will leave that country on February 14, the Soviet chief of staff said.

However, the situation in Afghanistan remains complicated and "we urge the other countries that are guarantors of the Geneva agreements to strictly comply with their obligations to ensure the complete implementation of the national reconciliation policy in Afghanistan and the restoration of peace and calm to that friendly country," he added.

Moiseyev, born in 1939, was appointed chief of staff in December 1988, replacing Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev who now serves as an adviser to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

U.S.-Iran 'Plot' To Block Afghan Consensus

PM0802163189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Baykov dispatch: "Dangerous Plot"]

[Text] Delhi, 8 Feb—Examining the situation which has developed around Afghanistan, the Indian newspaper PATRIOT points out that Teheran and Washington have of late established close mutual cooperation in providing moral and material aid to the Afghan mujahidin. This is borne out by numerous press reports which have appeared in Asian countries. Secret Iranian-U.S. talks have been conducted over a long period in Turkey, Pakistan, Switzerland, Algeria, Lebanon, and also directly in Tehran and New York.

The agreement reached has enabled Washington to bring influence to bear on the coalition of eight Afghan opposition groupings based in Iran. This explains, for instance, why the Iran-based mujahidin are beginning to assume "hawkish" stances at the present, critical moment in the talks on settling the Afghan problem, the newspaper emphasizes. This approach is blocking the establishment of a transitional government in Kabul based on a consensus of all the interested parties.

Detailed information about the activities of the Afghan opposition forces not just in Peshawar but also in Iran is now arriving in the United States. In turn, Washington has agreed to increase the volume of financial and military aid it provides. Everything indicates that in the near future large consignments of the latest hardware will begin to reach the irreconcilables not only via Pakistan but also via Iran.

The opposition circles in Iran believe, PATRIOT writes in conclusion, that the agreement marks the beginning of a new stage in Iranian-U.S. relations and has to be viewed in the context of attempts by Washington to achieve a military-political alliance uniting Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey with a view to reviving the CENTO bloc.

Gorbachev, Reagan Nominated for Nobel Prize

LD0802185489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Excerpts] [Molchanov] I will start this roundup of international news with a report broadcast by Norwegian television. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan have been proposed for the Nobel Peace Prize. [passage omitted]

In Bologna, a solemn ceremony of conferring academic degrees from Bologna University took place. The title of doctor honoris causa was conferred on Soviet Academician Andrey Sakharov. [video shows Sakharov at the ceremony] [passage omitted]

Secretary Baker To Visit Europe for NATO Meetings

LD0802200689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Baker is meeting FRG's Chief of Chancellery Schaeuble in Washington today, and after this he will be setting off on a trip to the capitals of NATO countries. Here is the latest news commentary, and over to Aleksandr Zholkver, our political observer:

[Zholkver] Baker's meetings with his NATO counterparts mark the start of activity by the new head of the U.S. foreign policy department. According to the testimony of U.S. observers, his main task now is the elaboration of a long-term political line for the Atlantic bloc. As THE WASHINGTON POST points out, for example, Baker's trip underlines the importance attached to relations between the West and the East, where it is necessary to make use of the prospects opened up by the Reagan administration and to solve the problems arising in connection with the unconventional moves of Soviet leader Gorbachev.

Indeed, in many respects, a new situation is forming in the world now, including relations between the two largest military groupings, the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Following the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, further arms reduction measures are coming onto the agenda. As is well-known, countries of the Warsaw Pact have put forward various specific proposals in this field and, moreover, have already announced unilateral measures to significantly reduce the numerical strength of their armed forces and weapons. What about NATO? FRG Defense Minister Scholz has just announced that NATO'S overall concept on security and disarmament issues will be adopted in the early spring. However, in his interview Scholz devoted his main attention, for some reason, to looking for arguments in favor of maintaining the old Atlantic strategy of nuclear deterrence. In Washington too, many prominent figures in the new administration, from Scowcroft, the president's national security adviser, to Nitze, the president's adviser on arms control issues, are still, to judge by their statements, enslaved by old dogmas and stereotypes, advocating the old policy of strength.

At the same time, even in NATO, more and more voices are ringing out now in favor of new political thinking and looking for new principles to ensure the security of states. The latest article by Zanone, Italy's defense minister, is very noteworthy in this respect, I believe. Recognizing the international effectiveness of the Soviet peace initiatives, he calls on NATO to finally put forward proposals on restructuring its doctrine and observes thoughtfully: There is nothing more mistaken and stupid than an unexpressed nostalgia for the cold war. I think that one cannot but agree with that observation.

Israel Under Fire at UN Human Rights Session

PM0802141589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[Special correspondent V. Bolshakov dispatch: "Discussion Continues"]

[Text] Geneva, 7 Feb—Environmentalists organized a demonstration outside Geneva's Palais des Nations. They were protesting against the pollution of the air and rivers caused by the construction of AES's. International legislation has not as yet enshrined man's right to live in ecologically ideal conditions, but the struggle for this has begun.

The world community is struggling to affirm and defend rights and freedoms that are already generally accepted but are, alas, by no means observed everywhere. The 45th session of the UN Human Rights Commission has completed its first week's work in Geneva. No resolutions or final documents have as yet been adopted on the two questions under discussion—human rights violations on the Israeli-occupied Arab territories, including Palestine, and the people's right to self-determination. In my opinion, it is not even a matter of documents but of what ways the world community will find to solve such serious questions of the day.

A great mass of facts has been cited over the last few days exposing the occupation authorities. Even Israel's closest allies cannot ignore them. Britain's representative G. Steel noted: "Exactly 12 months ago our commission investigated the question of the situation with regard to human rights in the occupied territories. We can note today that there has been no improvement in the situation since then. Yet, Israel is both juridically and morally obliged to scrupulously observe the rights of the inhabitants of these territories." G. Steel described as illegal the construction of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and demanded that it be stopped immediately.

Although he urged both sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict to show "restraint," U.S. representative B. Tsvayben [name as transliterated] acknowledged nevertheless that Israel is resorting to "excessive use of force" to "maintain order."

Under these conditions it is hard for Israeli representative R. Valden [name as transliterated] to argue that no human rights are being violated in the occupied territories. The Israeli delegate tried to equate the intifadah—the nonviolent uprising by the inhabitants of the occupied territories, who are not using any weapons on principle—with "international terrorism!" And reduce the process of a Near East settlement to separate deals on the Camp David model. An approach that is not in the spirit of the time! It is no coincidence that no one supported him—neither the delegations officially represented at the UN Human Rights Commission, nor the observer countries, nor the international nongovernmental organizations. The speeches by their representatives supporting the right of Palestinians to self-determination primarily noted the need to convene an international conference on the Near East as soon as possible involving all interested parties, including the PLO and the five permanent members of the Security Council. This was the path mapped out at the last UN General Assembly session.

Speaking in Geneva's Palais des Nations to the UN Human Rights Commission, French Prime Minister M. Rocard pointed out that it has proved possible in the last 2 years to set about settling peacefully the most serious conflicts on our planet, primarily owing to the improvement in East-West relations and the activation of UN activity.

Under these conditions, the cause of defending human rights on our planet also has far greater chance of succeeding. It was pleasing to hear the French prime minister cite our country as a positive example in this connection. Recalling the UN General Assembly resolution of 8 December 1988 adopted on France's initiative on international aid to the victims of natural disasters and catastrophes, M. Rocard said that he paid homage to the USSR Government, which showed its readiness, literally on the day this resolution was adopted, to comply with it by opening Soviet borders to deliveries of international aid to the Armenian earthquake victims.

The UN Human Rights Commission is continuing its work.

'Repercussions' Program on Asia, Pacific

LD0902045489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1850 GMT on 7 February broadcasts the "Repercussions" program, which lasts 75 minutes. The program is devoted to "The Asian-Pacific Ocean Region: Problems and Prospects for Development." The program is presented by Vladimir Yakovlevich Tsvetov, political observer for Central Television and All-Union Radio. Tsvetov introduces the following participants in the program: Major General Geliy Viktorovich Batenin; Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich Bovin, IZVESTIYA political observer; Professor Ivan Dmitriyevich Ivanov, doctor of economic sciences, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers' State Foreign Economic Commission; and Professor Vladimir Petrovich Lukin, doctor of historical sciences, deputy head of a department in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

After the participants share initial reflections on the shifting centers of world civilization, Bovin comments on the current importance of Southeast Asia as a financial center, and Lukin and Ivanov take up the theme of the significance of economic development of the Asian-Pacific region in an interdependent world. Batenin reviews the history of military activity in the region during and after World War II, saying the Korean and Vietnamese wars had an ominous effect on the development of the entire region. Batenin points out, however, that "the rate at which military activity is increasing is virtually catching up with that on the European levels, although in principle it would seem that for the general development of the region they should be decreasing. I will give you a small example: Slowly but surely, as the saying goes, very large-scale military exercises are conducted there, and in a very provocative manner, I would say. Take, for instance, the PASEX exercises, which are now planned. We knew about RIMPAC; we knew about Team Spirit. That set of military exercises has just started, subsumed under the heading of those exercises which in Europe will be conducted less frequently now."

Following Batenin's observation, Lukin replies, "It seems to me that in Europe, that is, in Asia, in the Asian-Pacific Ocean region, the maneuvers are on a greater scale, but there is less fuss made about them. They seem to be less noticeable, although they are more dangerous, so to speak. There is less glasnost about them to use our expression."

"Quite true," says Batenin, "But the fact is that the military structures are different there. There are two blocs there, the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO. There is a major European process, which itself has an influence through its own emergence and development upon the entire social situation and upon the political and military situation, and so forth. But we have arrived at the Vienna mandate, as you know, through this process and through the policy of the new thinking and so forth. But here, it is precisely these triangles, these double-axis structures, which make it impossible to make enough fuss so as to put an end to this military danger."

Bovin responds by asking, "We are always roundly cursing these imperialists for all these maneuvers they organize. But do we not conduct maneuvers?" Batenin answers, "But of course we do."

Tsvetov next asks Batenin to discuss USSR military activity. Batenin says the Soviet Union's military activity accompanies overall military operations, saying that the activity is defensive. "If I have 1,700,000 men in the East, there are large naval forces, there is a strategic echelon, since there is a corresponding U.S. echelon there." He says the Soviet Union conducts exercises, but that they are not on the scale of the exercises they are witnessing, "on the order of 200-300 ships which consistently conduct practically all naval operations, including landing operations."

Batenin says further, "What I want to say is that recently, a year ago perhaps, we announced that we had sharply reduced the level of military exercises in all sea areas in general; not only in the North—we have been accused of developing military activity there—but also in the East, that is, in those seas where our Pacific Ocean fleet is based and operates. Furthermore, we have also reduced the area of these exercises, that is the sea areas allocated for firing and maneuvers of various sorts by warships and so on and so forth, and by air flights." Lukin then notes that despite glasnost the military does not say what the starting point for the reduction is. To which Baltenin responds, "Well, I understand, openness and glasnost should exist. In regard to military activity, it exists pretty well in Europe, thanks to the fact that the Stockholm document is in force."

Ivanov replies to a viewer's question on U.S.-Japanese rivalry in the Pacific stressing that the economic rivalry is accompanied by political cooperation and increasing technological and economic linkage. Bovin concurs, echoing the point concerning political cooperation.

Replying to a question about whether Gorbachev's Vladivostok initiatives can be realized without global nuclear disarmament, Batenin affirms that these processes cannot be separated, "because in general, the world is moving toward making itself secure in the military regard, first and foremost from the point of view of mutual self-destruction." He says that the elements of the Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk initiatives, in terms of reducing military activity, glasnost on military activity, freezing and not increasing nuclear weapons, and increasing confidence-building measures, are all possible and necessary to push forward nuclear disarmament.

Bovin comments on a question asking whether the Helsinki process might be applied to the Asian and Pacific Ocean region, saying, "The same principles on which we aspire to build our common European home can be applied to the Asian and Pacific region, though the real situation in Asia is less suitable at present owing to the multiplicity of territorial and other conflicts there." Lukin points out the different zones in the region, the specific problems of each, which means that no one process can be applied to the whole.

Tsvetov then asks Professor Ivanov about the prospects for developing such virgin economic regions as the Far East. Ivanov notes that a program has been drawn up for the accelerated development of productive forces in the Far East to use local raw materials to supply that region with its own processing industry and machine-building base. Ivanov also stresses that attention is being paid to the concerns of the social infrastructure and to the development of foreign economic links. Ivanov says, "You may retort that this program has existed for many years and is being implemented in a fragmentary manner, as opposed to an integrated manner. I would agree, unfortunately, because not all objects and areas of this program have been sufficiently provided with capital investments, or, most importantly, with material and technical supplies."

Next Tsevetov notes that several letters have come in concerning Soviet-Chinese relations. Lukin reviews the history of these relations and says that the relations are gradually improving and that they are entering a new stage. "I would describe this stage as a state of good-neighborly relations," Lukin says. He says further, "But we are striving for full, full-blooded good-neighborly relations in all spheres of our life without exclusion, in which it would be possible, as fully as possible, for our two powers to support, strengthen, and develop all-around economic, scientific, and cultural links, political consultations, and relations in the most varied areas and also inter-party links which are natural for socialist states."

Tsvetov then quotes a letter from a viewer, "Is it not so that the full normalization of relations between the USSR and PRC also includes the normalization of relations between the CPSU and the Chinese CP? Comrade Shevardnadze spoke indistinctly about this and only in response to a question from a correspondent at a news conference. Are there obstacles to normalization of inter-party relations?" Bovin replies in the negative, elaborating, "I proceed from the premise that they will be restored and that Mikhail Sergeyevich will have a meeting with the General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, Deng Xiaoping, and it is natural that they will be restored, all the more so because the ideological disagreements which caused the rupture have virtually been overcome and do not exist. But another idea has come into my head. Perhaps it is incorrect. If a treaty were concluded in May on alliance and mutual aid between Moscow and Beijing I think that it would terribly frighten the people of the U.S and Western Europe and would cause great difficulties for the detente process. So it would really be better not to."

Tsvetov next asks Batenin, "The USSR intends to make its forces on the border with China defensive in nature. Does this mean the elimination in Siberia and the Far East of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, as well as strategic ones? If this is what it means, will we not be unarmed in the face of the U.S military bases in Japan and South Korea? Batenin answers, "I would like to say that, yes, that is what it means because the question has been posed in such a way that with the terms used these missiles are all, in one way or another, included in the treaty that has been concluded for elimination, or in the treaty which will be connected with the 50-percent reductions in the strategic offensive armaments of the USSR and United States. Concerning other missiles with a range of less than 500 km, which have not yet been entered in any treaty, I think that as movement is made toward a politically stable development in what we have all been talking about in relations between the USSR and China, naturally we are going over to the principle of defensive sufficiency in the continuation of the construction and improvement of our armed forces. They will continue one way or another to be improved. This means that the nuclear component will, of course, be reduced to a minimum and perhaps even eliminated, particularly at the Sino-Soviet border."

Tsvetov poses a question from a viewer to Lukin on whether the nuclear problems and military problems concerning the Pacific Ocean and Asia are less important than the problem of Cambodia. Lukin replies, "In relations between states the important problems are those which those states or at least one of them consider very important, the ones which worry them. There is no doubt that both we and the PRC are worried about this problem. It is a sore problem for them. You probably know that for a considerable period the Chinese comrades have been putting the question like this: Without solving three problems they unambiguously said that the Cambodian problem was the most important of these. They called these the three obstacles. Relations between our countries would not develop the way we, and probably they, were seeking." He says further, "I would like to say only that this problem should be divided into two parts: the creation of external conditions—an external situation to facilitate a just and peaceful solution of this problem—and the internal aspects of this problem. There is the problem of the administrative structure of Cambodia in the post-crisis situation, the problem of creating new structures including the Army and military structures. These are all internal aspects on which we can have some opinion and the Chinese comrades can have some opinion. But, naturally, they must be resolved by internal forces. It is precisely on this basis that our conversations have been and are being conducted. It is precisely on this basis that we are discussing and trying to stimulate progress in resolving this problem, which I repeat is a very acute one.

Tsvetov forwards another viewer question, asking: What is the USSR's attitude toward Sihanouk and what is China's attitude? Is there a difference? "Yes, of course, there is a difference," answers Bovin, continuing "From my point of view there is a difference because China gives very close support to Sihanouk and has had long connections with him. Sihanouk very often lives in Beijing. I believe that he is there now and is holding talks with the Chinese leadership there. Our situation is different. We recognize, objectively, the role of Sihanouk in a possible settlement of the Cambodian problem in so far as this role is recognized by all sides participating in this conflict."

Tsvetov next broaches the subject of the free economic zones and Chinese and Japanese experience in economic growth rates and economic change. Ivanov says that these economic zones are also designed for the Soviet enterprises to engage in business there, in conditions of economic reform. Ivanov stresses that the joint enterprises in the Far East refer not only to Japan, saying, "We intend to base joint enterprises in the Far East on competition without giving the monopoly to any individual country." Ivanov says that until the reform is completed it will be necessary to give these enterprises artificial support, but says they have a bright future.

The participants next discuss a large number of letters which have expressed concern with the extent to which foreign cooperation is proceeding. The participants discuss what they describe as xenophobia on the part of those who have written in to the program.

Tsvetov next cites from several letters about the problem of the Kuril Islands claimed by Japan. Some of the letters cited favor handing over the islands to Japan, some are bitterly opposed to this idea. Lukin blames the immoderate language of the letters on the style used by Soviet journalism. Bovin says that such language was long used in official documents. Tsvetov recalls the history of the problem in the post-war period, and continues, "I do think that this is a problem of international law. From the international law point of view the problem does not exist. But from the political point of view there is a problem. The essence of the new political thinking is to find a mutually acceptable solution of this political problem. Not just an acceptable solution but a mutually acceptable one. The latest visit by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze to Tokyo, resulted in a working group being set up at the level of deputy foreign ministers to discuss questions concerned with a peace treaty, probably the work of these groups will be sufficiently productive in this direction, too. That is my opinion but I do not lay claim to the ultimate truth." Bovin remarks that he has frequently discussed this problem with Japanese and it is very complicated.

Tsvetov cites a letter discussing DPRK criticism of Hungary for establishing relations with South Korea, to which Lukin replies, "I am not prepared now to comment on the Hungarian decision on this question. The only thing that can be said is that our approach to this problem is quite evident. We are allies of the DPRK, we maintain close relations with that country, and we support its proposals to strengthen and improve the situation on the Korean peninsula. At the same time it has been said frequently, openly, publicly, and with glasnost, that there does exist such an economic reality as South Korea with which our nongovernmental—I stress nongovernmental—organizations maintain and will continue to maintain some business contacts. I stress this nongovernmental level. As far as I know the PRC adheres to just about the same fundamental policy. I refer to the quality and not the quantity of relations. That, in essence, is our approach. Bovin also addresses the DPRK issue, saying, "I would like to say that I have a different opinion on this matter. We have our state interests. It seems to me that the principle thinking. It indicates that we can have relations with states regardless of what they do internally. South Korea is an independent state and this is a reality which must be recognized in the final analysis. As far as our not recognizing it is concerned, I do not know if we are right on this. I am doubtful about this, to say the least. That is my personal view and probably it is correct. Ivanov then replies, "It is the All-Union Trades and Industrial Chamber which is responsible for contacts with that country, with South Korea. I agree that if we are speaking about the establishment of relations and how one should assess it in the context of peace on the Korean peninsula, I, personally, think that it is difficult to promote peace, wherever it may be, without contacts with both parties."

Tsvetov then makes closing announcements.

'Restraint' Urged in Regional Conflicts

PM0802144989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Vasilyev, deputy director of the Africa Institute; "There Will Not Be Any Losers If Realism Prevails In The Approach To Regional Conflicts"]

[Text] Last year brought a glimmer of hope to the "Third World," which is overburdened with regional conflicts. The chain reaction of positive changes of varying scale and significance has affected virtually every regional crisis since the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. Take Africa, for example. Agreements have been signed in New York with U.S. mediation between Angola, Cuba, and the RSA on a settlement of the situation in South-West Africa. In particular, they envisage beginning implementation of the UN Security Council resolution on granting independence to Namibia from 1 April and carrying out a series of other measures designed to resolve the conflict in the southern part of the African Continent. Practical steps have already been taken. Pretoria's troops, which had illegally been occupying part of Angolan territory, have been withdrawn from Angola. In a demonstration of goodwill, Cuba has returned home ahead of schedule 3,000 of its servicemen who have been assisting Angola in repelling aggression from the RSA. The real preconditions are thereby being created for eliminating one of the most dangerous hotbeds of tension.

In this connection some people could be entertaining radiant hopes of a "conflict-free" world emerging. However, the realism and effectiveness of the Soviet leadership's foreign policy philosophy lies, in particular, in the fact that it calls for the creation of a "non-violent" world—but not a "conflict-free" world.

Conflicts in the "Third World," regional conflicts included, have been, are, and will continue to be, unfortunately. Asia, Africa, and Latin America are regions of uneven development and of acute social and other contradictions at both state and regional levels. These conflicts derive from economic, political, ethnic (national), and religious (confessional) contradictions.

Internal contradictions frequently spill over poorly or artificially defined state borders, giving rise to interstate conflicts. The causes of these conflicts can vary enormously: disputes over the continental shelf or areas of desert territory under which major oil reserves lie; disputes over water or rich fishing areas; but, most frequently of all, disputes over complicated ethnic and religious problems. In Asia and Africa there is virtually no state whose borders fully coincide with ethnic boundaries. Different ethnic groups and entire peoples may be divided between several states. In some they may hold the dominant positions while in others they may find themselves in the position of the oppressed.

All this means that regional conflicts feed off local conditions. To ignore the internal causes giving rise to conflicts is just as absurd as looking for the "hand of Moscow" or "Washington intrigues" in every one of them. But, external factors may also play a considerable role.

If we see the world as divided into hostile blocs which are constantly building up their arms, it is also natural to view regional conflicts through the prism of confrontation: "Whose side are you on? Which positions in the confrontation between the great powers do you hold? Who stands to benefit from this or that side winning in a regional conflict?" The logic of this approach dictates the need to "score points" in global confrontation and to regard a loss for the other side as a "gain" for your own side, although the voice of reason says that, in order to ensure the other side loses, you also will have to suffer some loss yourself—whether that loss is great or small.

But we can and must proceed from a different premise. By observing a balance of interests, the gain of the other side certainly need not entail loss for yourself, and vice versa. In taking this approach, it would be naive to adopt the attitude of being "above the fray" and to pretend that colonialism, neocolonialism, and aggression and armed provocation from imperialist powers has never existed; to pretend that it was not RSA troops which invaded Angolan territory, but the other way around; to pretend that Israel is not occupying Arab lands and committing acts of armed provocation against neighboring states; or to pretend that the Nicaraguan Contras are being sent weapons by the Holy Spirit.

But, knowing all this, it is still better not to be guided by the principle of "a tooth for a tooth," although we should certainly not turn the other cheek when we have been hit in the face.

It is clear that the arms race and confrontation between the USSR and the United States have raised the temperature of regional conflicts and that they, in turn, have urged on the arms race and exacerbated relations between the great powers, thereby increasing the threat to international security. A vicious circle has formed. The USSR took the decision to make unilateral reductions in its conventional arms in order to break this vicious circle. This cannot fail to have a positive impact on the whole international climate, including in the "Third World."

But the problem of nuclear weapons still remains. The threat of their proliferation lends a new, ominous aspect to regional conflicts. It is believed that both the RSA and Israel could now have nuclear weapons, but during the next 15-20 years some 15 states will possess the technology needed to produce these weapons. Conflicts must be translated from the military to the political form and resolved now before fanatics at either end of the spectrum have the opportunity to reach out for the nuclear button.

Another aspect of the danger is that the nuclear weapons of the great powers are penetrating conflict zones. It is a well-known fact that U.S. rapid deployment forces have nuclear weapons and by implication their potential use. Fortunately, things have never gone this far. But sometimes both powers have "walked the edge." You only have to recall the limited nuclear alert in the United States in 1973 in connection with the Arab-Israeli war and the countermeasures—albeit restrained—taken by the USSR.

True, if there has been a certain unconditional understanding of the common interests of the USSR and the United States in the past, it has been the desire to prevent regional conflicts from spreading to the level of global conflicts. Now, however, we can and must go further.

Reasonable restraint on the part of the USSR and the United States would help to prevent regional conflits from flaring up. The first condition must be that the armed forces of the two great powers do not take part in any conflict.

Terminating arms supplies to the participants in a conflict would also help to lessen their intensity. You could argue that there are at least another 15 arms exporters in the world besides the USSR and the United States. But for the USSR and the United States, exporting arms is primarily a political act and so political will is needed to stop this export. Restraint on the part of the USSR and the United States could influence other countries. When conflicts reach a high level of intensity, increasingly sophisticated weapons systems are needed, which can only be provided by the two great powers. Supplying Israel with arms that are not possessed by many of the United States' NATO allies is the best example of this.

However, the export of arms is regarded by many state figures as a form of extending political influence. This logic has been justified to a certain extent by the conditions of confrontation. But even then practice has shown that the country which receives the weapons does not necessarily become a reliable ally. Moreover, even its complete orientation toward a particular source of arms does not prevent political turnabouts—sometimes a complete volte-face. The change of course by recipients of Soviet weapons such as Egypt, Sudan, and Somalia, or by a purchaser of American arms such as Iran, speaks for itself.

The history of regional conflicts in the past decade also teaches us another lesson. With very rare exceptions, not one of them has ended in victory for either side. (I am not talking about national liberation wars like those in Vietnam, Algeria, Angola, and Mozambique). But the era of national liberation wars is nearly over. Recent examples are the war in Namibia and several small conflicts of a similar nature.

The Iran-Iraq war, with its 1.2 million dead and $400 billion of economic damage for the two sides, ended in a "draw," while the 40-year Arab-Israeli conflict and the conflict in South-West Africa have reached a stalemate.

The trend toward reducing tension and reaching settlements rather than exacerbating regional conflicts is now blazing a trail for itself in the world. The ceasefire on the Iran-Iraq front inspires optimism, although too much enmity and desire for revenge have built up. We have already mentioned the agreement on South-West Africa, although the RSA has yet to prove that it intends to honor its pledges. Some hopeful news is coming from Southeast Asia and Central America.

Despite all their differences and special features, all these cases have much in common. I am thinking, for example, of the elements of national reconciliation, political dialogue between the opposing sides instead of military operations, the guarantees provided by the great powers, and the involvement of the UN mechanism.

Special mention should be made of the UN role. Its most effective body—the Security Council—which is intended to maintain international peace and security, has not been as active as it should as a result of the global confrontation between opposing groupings which has been exacerbated to the extreme. If you imagine agreement between all the permanent members of the UN Security Council on a regional conflict, then why not use force as well to achieve a ceasefire or to curb the aggressor? The United Nations could also play an increasingly effective role in the search for political solutions. New opportunities are opening up before the United Nations in all spheres which naturally fall within its competence.

The world community in the shape of the United Nations and its Security Council will possibly have to sometimes not merely recommend but also to impose civilized behavior on individual states. But, for this, primarily the members of the Security Council themselves must conduct themselves in a civilized fashion and not bomb another country if its leader is not to their liking in some way, not occupy a tiny island state where there has been a sudden change of government, and so forth. The great powers themselves must set an example of irreproachably adhering to the norms and principles of international law.

History has shown that in regional conflicts both East and West possess a range of resources and possibilities which will not allow one side to achieve its aims while ignoring the interests of the other. Remember the Arab-Israeli conflict or the Ethiopian-Somali conflict. That is how it is: Realism demands dialogue, consultation, clarification of each other's positions, and mutual consideration for the interests of all sides.

Returning to the statement made by the author at the beginning of this article, it should be formulated as follows: Yes, conflicts, including regional conflicts, have been, are, and will continue to be in the "Third World." But, through the peacemaking efforts of the great powers and the participation of international organizations and the entire world community, these conflicts can and must be translated into a non-violent form, their intensity reduced, and compromises sought on the basis of a balance of interests. Everyone will gain from this approach and there will be no losers.

United States & Canada

Bessmertnykh Receives U.S. Ambassador 6 Feb

LD0602142289 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 6 TASS—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received on Monday Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to Moscow, at his request. They discussed mostly the situation taking shape around Afghanistan, as well as questions connected with a further development of political contacts between the USSR and the U.S.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Reports Baker TIME Interview

PM0802160189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "James Baker's Statement"]

[Text] New York, 6 Feb—In an interview with TIME magazine U.S. Secretary of State James Baker dwelt on certain aspects of the new U.S. Administration's policy toward the Soviet Union and on problems concerning settlements in the Near East and Central America. According to him, relations with the USSR "should be approached with prudence and realism, restraint should be shown, and there should be no excessive rejoicing just because we see particular changes."

Regarding the Bush administration's views on the processes of socioeconomic and political transformations taking place in the USSR, Baker said: "I am not one of those who believe that we should hope for their failure, that failure will somehow weaken the Soviet Union, and that it will benefit the United States. I do not think that success or failure depends on our actions.... We should hope the experiment succeeds and makes their society more open."

At the same time the secretary of state stressed: "It should be recognized that the Soviet Union remains a very well-armed power with interests hostile to the United States. I do not think the USSR has moved away from the policy it has pursued for a very, very long time and which consists of testing NATO, probing the ground, and seeking out weak points."

Armenian Patriarch Begins U.S. Visit

LD0402015289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2329 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] New York 4 February (TASS)—Vazgen I, supreme patriarch and catholicos of all Armenians, arrived in New York today. In the course of his visit to the United States, he will meet the leaders of the Armenian communities of North and South America and representatives of various religions and churches of the United States. He will also hold a number of news conferences. He plans to discuss the progress of restoration work in the areas of Armenia hit by the destructive earthquake. After his New York visit he will visit Washington, where it is expected he will have a meeting with President George Bush.

Vazgen will be in the United States until 11 February.

U.S. Human Rights Report on Israel Viewed

LD0802224489 Moscow TASS in English 2206 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 9 TASS—By TASS news analyst Dmitriy Yakubov:

The United States has admitted for the first time that its closest ally, Israel, grossly violates human rights in the Arab territories it occupies. It is precisely the enforced contestation of this fact that caused the interest of the international public in the latest report of the U.S. Department of State on the situation in the area of human rights in various countries in 1988.

The report says that as many as 366 Palestinians were killed by Israeli soldiers or settlers in occupied Arab territories in 1988 alone, that over 20,000 people, among them women and children, were wounded. Israeli soldiers were beating up Palestinians, including those who did not take any part in mass demonstrations. They were beaten cruelly, their ribs, arms, legs were broken. Hundreds of Palestinians became homeless as a result of punitive actions. Soldiers blew up 154 Arab homes as punishment for demonstrations. 36 Palestinian politicians were deported by Israelies from occupied territories.

These facts are widely known, and they were reported also by the U.S. media. Only official Washington was silent about this. But the rampage of the Israeli military grossly flouting human rights was so brazen in the past year, that even the U.S. Department of State could not pass it in silence any longer. Tel Aviv's conduct also disgraced Washington, so they in Washington tried to "adjust" the actions of their strategic ally.

But while about it, the U.S. foreign policy department forgets to mention the fact that Israel's actions in the Middle East had invariably been backed and are backed by the United States. It is precisely this political, military and financial backing that ensures for Israel "a free hand" in the occupied territories.

Quite reasonable in this connection are the pronouncements of observers of U.S. television networks that the relations between the United States and Israel look like the falling out of lovers, and that their quarreling will not be followed by separation, that the report of the U.S. Department of State is an advice of one friend to the other, and so on.

Nevertheless the report was met with "indignation" in Tel Aviv. Attempts are made to describe the data contained in it as much overstated. Alongside this, reaction to the report to the U.S. Department of State by the Jewish circles in the United States on which the financial prosperity of the country largely depends are eagerly awaited in Israel. It would certainly not be without interest to learn how Washington will finally view Tel Aviv's "indignation".

China

Improved PRC Ties, Shevardnadze Visit Viewed

'Good-Neighborly' Ties Restored

OW0802132889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 8 Feb 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Goranskiy]

[Text] The forthcoming summit meeting between Comrade Gorbachev and the PRC leaders will undoubtedly become the main event of the year.

The break with China was felt intensely. Thirty years passed in confrontation and apprehension. These years witnessed armed border conflicts and fierce ideological polemics. Now, as a result of efforts by both countries and governments, the previous good-neighborly relations have been restored.

Now the Soviet Union and China are speaking out for the fundamental reconstruction of international relations, detente, disarmament, and the elimination of regional conflicts by peaceful means. We expect the normalization of relations with China to have a positive effect, to improve the political climate in all of Asia.

Talks on the Cambodian problem are progressing well; specific ways to eliminate armed conflict between the warring sides have been found. One would like to believe that Sino-Vietnamese relations are going to improve. The stability of the situation in Southeast Asia depends on this.

The news that North and South Korea have established trade and cultural ties is also encouraging. Steps toward a peaceful unification of this country have been taken.

The Soviet people are vitally interested in improving relations with China, with which we share a 7,500 km border. The border must serve not to divide, but to unite the two states. Roadways of trade and economic cooperation must once again be blazed across the border. We know that interest in this can be found both in China and in our own country.

PRC Analyst Welcomes Visit

PM0902150188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report on telephone interview with Xu Kui, director of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Soviet and East European Studies Institute, by IZVESTIYA correspondent Yu. Savenkov in Beijing: "'We Are Impatiently Awaiting the Visit.' Chinese Scientist on the Forthcoming Soviet-Chinese Summit Meeting"; date not given]

[Text] **Comrade Xu Kui, director of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Soviet and East European Studies Institute, is a famous political scientist who studies the problems of the Soviet Union's development. He is respected in scientific circles for his mature opinions on the prospects for Soviet-Chinese relations. Participating recently in a "roundtable" discussion on problems of restructuring in the USSR published by the journal REFORMA, he specifically expressed the view that the central idea of the present transformations in the Soviet Union is the building of a democratic and humane socialism under which man will become the main actor.**

Following E.A. Shevardnadze's departure from Beijing, I called Xu Kui and asked him to say a few words about the results of the just concluded Soviet-Chinese talks.

[Xu Kui] The successful conclusion of Comrade Shevardnadze's visit gives me great joy. Some 2 months ago I was excited upon reading reports on the meeting between our Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and M.S. Gorbachev in Moscow. Now I have seen on television Deng Xiaoping receiving your foreign minister. I think that, like me, millions of television viewers welcomed this event. The dialogue between our countries is continuing, and the exchange of ministers' visits will certainly stimulate the normalization of relations. Now we will impatiently await M.S. Gorbachev's visit to China and his meeting with Deng Xiaoping. It will be an historic meeting because it will mark the beginning of a new stage in our relations. I am convinced that the peoples of China and the USSR sincerely want good-neighborly and stable cooperation in all spheres.

All states are now more dependent on one another, and normalization of relations between them on the principles of peaceful coexistence, without affecting ties with other countries, is in line with the global trend of development. It will be undoubtedly of benefit to the whole world.

'Most Important, Major Event'

OW0902004089 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] On the last day of the Lunar Year of the Dragon, a most important, major event evolved in Sino-Soviet relations. The Soviet foreign minister concluded his visit to China. Today we would like to sum up his trip to China and comment on future prospects for Sino-Soviet relations.

The official visit to China by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze was decided on when he and his counterpart met in December last year to discuss issues related to a Sino-Soviet summit meeting. The date and location of the summit meeting have now been decided. The leaders of the two countries will meet in Beijing in mid-May. The two leaders reiterated their countries' hope that Gorbachev's talks with Deng Xiaoping and other well-known PRC figures would lead to the complete normalization of Sino-Soviet relations and turn a new page in the history of the two neighboring countries.

The normalization of relations between China and the Soviet Union meets the pressing needs of the peoples of the two countries. It will help the countries share their common tasks in building socialism, and the peoples of the two nations to acquaint themselves with the other's achievements and to exchange experience in carrying out their reform programs. This new atmosphere has made people believe that each side is willing to find measures acceptable to the other side to tackle existing issues. At the same time, efforts by both countries to raise the level of dialogue between the two nations and the exchange of visits by the two foreign ministers show that both sides are working hard to make the Sino-Soviet summit meeting a big success. Efforts are being made to prepare for the documents that could be signed at the meeting and to work out the foundation for the development of the Sino-Soviet relations. Preparations are also being made to show the similarity of political and philosophical viewpoints and discuss issues for development in the contemporary era.

The new international political order recently put forward by Beijing is as important as Moscow's new political ideology. As members of the UN Security Council, the two major socialist countries are especially responsible for invigorating the existence of mankind, improving international relations, and establishing a new international political order. The summit meeting is aimed at promoting disarmament, ensuring Asian security, averting regional conflicts, and tackling global issues. It will open a new vista for promoting bilateral cooperation. The Soviet Union and China can cooperate in many aspects to turn the Sino-Soviet border of confrontation into a region of peace, friendship, good-neighborliness, and active cooperation; to support the establishment of nuclear-free zones in the Korean peninsula and Southeast Asia; and to achieve an ecological balance in the Pacific region.

In the course of discussing issues of security and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, the foreign ministers of the two countries spoke highly of the trend toward avoiding confrontation and strengthening mutual trust in the region. The steps adopted by the Soviet Union and China toward disarmament and the reduction of military expenditures are of great significance in this respect.

During their meeting, the foreign ministers of the two countries showed grave concern over the Cambodian issue, and exchanged views on promoting bilateral relations and avoiding regional conflicts. Intensive developments have recently been witnessed in the Asian political arena, calling for efforts by both countries to actively build socialism, carry out reform, and improve bilateral relations.

Another major topic of the Sino-Soviet dialogue was peace and development. Moscow and Beijing fully realize that the normalization of relations between the two countries will get twice the result with half the effort in promoting peace and development, and will help to tap the potential of the two countries in building socialism and promoting cooperation. At the same time, the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China will help establish a new international relationship and make the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and world healthier than ever.

Academy Delegation Arrives in Beijing

LD0902084489 Moscow TASS in English 0839 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Beijing February 9 TASS—A delegation of the Soviet Academy of Sciences led by its president Academician Guriy Marchuk arrived here today.

The Soviet scientists are expected to sign documents with their Chinese colleagues on the principal directions of the scientific cooperation between the USSR and China up to the year 2000, and also an agreement on direct cooperation between Soviet and Chinese scientific organisations.

Soviet-Chinese scientific contacts were resumed in 1985 and began to be conducted according to plan as of 1986.

Northeast Asia

Japan 'Northern Territories' Rally Scored

PM0802161189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent I. Latyshev dispatch: "Hankering After the Kuril Islands"]

[Text] Tokyo, 7 Feb—Government circles and Japan's nationalist politicians are making repeated attempts to incite their compatriots to "mass" actions to revise the Japanese-Soviet border.

The so-called "movement for the return of the Northern Territories"—by which some mean the four southern islands in the Kuril group, others all the Kuril islands, and yet others Sakhalin as well—has been set up with this in view. Every year the organizers of this "movement" hold "Northern Territories' Day" 7 February. The aim of this action is to galvanize nationalist sentiments and unfriendly feelings toward our country among the population.

This year, too, the Japanese champions of territorial claims on the Soviet Union have missed no opportunity to remind us of their existence. Their latest rally attended by more than 1,000 people was held today in the center of the Japanese capital in the "Kudan Kaykan" Hall. In the street near the entrance to the hall the rally's participants were greeted by the most inveterate activists of the "Movement for the Return of the Northern Territories"—militant anti-Soviets from extreme right-wing organizations. When the curtain went up, the people in the hall, who had been allowed in in limited numbers and by invitation only, saw the leaders of the "movement" sitting decorously on the presidium. They were mainly parliamentary deputies from the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] and representatives of right-wing public organizations. But there were also a few deputies from parliamentary opposition parties alongside them, including even one Communist Party representative(?!). After the fire fighters' wind orchestra had played the national anthem "Kimigayo" (the anthem begins with the words: "May our monarch rule for millennia..."), the gathering heard a speech by Kichiro Tazawa, the country's acting prime minister. The speaker urged the gathering to further support the government's course of making territorial demands on the Soviet Union. Speeches by the representatives of the "movement's" local branches contained the same appeals. Those present listened respectfully to a telegram from Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno containing the same bureaucratic phrases as the speeches.

In conclusion, the rally participants approved a statement containing unfounded accusations against the Soviet Union of building up its armed forces on the Kuril Islands and proclaiming the intention of the "movement's" organizers to mount in the country's schools, establishments, and enterprises that same propaganda campaign for the restoration of the Kuril Islands to Japan.

Today's rally in Tokyo illustrates that the "Movement for the Return of the Northern Territories" is by no means a matter of spontaneous actions on the part of the population, as certain journalists and politicians here would like to portray it, but the creation of government departments and nationalist circles that are unyielding in their intention to foist on the Japanese people deliberately illegitimate slogans hostile to our country. Territorial claims can only delay the peaceful and mutually beneficial development of Soviet-Japanese relations.

U.S.-Japan Disagreement on USSR Seen

PM0802155789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent S. Agafonov dispatch: "United States-Japan: Atmosphere of Complete Harmony?"]

[Text] Tokyo—The Japanese prime minister has concluded an official visit to the United States. Takeshita's 7-day stay on the other side of the ocean passed smoothly, quietly, and without sensation, as had generally been expected right from the start.

The talks agenda was not overloaded with business questions; acute problems of bilateral relations were not a topic of serious discussion, although they were mentioned during the talks; and practically all the alarming specifics of the protracted trade and economic conflicts between the partners in various spheres were ignored. Both Washington and Tokyo had an equal interest in this.

It is no wonder, therefore, that both sides made a particularly positive assessment of the talks that took place. And yet, Japanese political scientists and journalists are not yet giving a clear answer to the question of what came out of Takeshita's trip that is new in Japanese-U.S. relations.

In fact, it is rather difficult to make out what happened, because there are no joint documents on the visit: The details of the talks are not being widely publicized, so we can only guess from the nuances of the formulas and the emphases placed in official publications. There are, it is true, curious aspects here, and it is worth dwelling on them in greater detail.

What is noteworthy, above all, is the obvious tendency toward globalization that became apparent during the Japanese-U.S. talks. Whether they were questions of an economic or a political order, emphasis was placed on their broad interpretation, in which the sides' responsibility and international influence were specially emphasized. The phrase "creative division of responsibility" figured repeatedly at this meeting—which, in the opinion of ASAHI, for example, attests to the advent of a new stage in Japanese-U.S. relations characterized by the partners' equality and by the recognition that Tokyo is firmly established as a world leader, not only as an economic giant but also as an important political factor.

Another aspect is the desire emphasized by the partners to hold a dialogue in calm tones, without dramatization or impulsiveness, seeking to settle disputed issues exclusively around the negotiating table. In the opinion of the Japanese press, this indicates the pragmatism of the new administration, which realizes that the period of strong-arm influence over Japan is over and it is necessary to revise the approaches that used to prevail.

Dwelling on this, the mass media here point out that the talks between Bush and Takeshita were attended by an atmosphere of complete harmony on all issues. This is evidently how it really was with, apparently, the exception of only one very important problem—relations with the Soviet Union. Discussion of the "Soviet topic" took up one-third of the almost 3 hours of top-level talks between the Japanese and U.S. leaders, and although Takeshita emphasized at a press conference that agreement was reached here, too, doubts nonetheless remain.

They are founded on a total disagreement over the interpretation of this topic, as can be observed in the Japanese mass media. Thus ASAHI, for example, writes that the U.S. side tried persistently to ascertain Japan's attitude to the USSR, restructuring, and the latter's influence on international affairs, thereby making it clear that Washington is concerned about Tokyo's approach to Japanese-Soviet relations. Tokyo SHIMBUN in turn interpreted the U.S. questions as showing concern at the actions of Western Europe, which is undertaking an active rapprochement with Moscow. Japanese spokesmen announced that the U.S. leadership supports Tokyo's stand on the so-called territorial problem, although it turns out that there was in fact no such formulation in a pure form.

Japan Urged To Participate in Economic Zones

OW0502014789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 29 Jan 89

[From "Siberian Tour" program]

[Text] Analyzing the question of establishing free economic zones in the Soviet Union, Mr (Andrey Pavlov) of the Soviet State Planning Committee has expressed the following views:

The world now sees increasing moves to set up free economic zones to practice economic cooperation. What on earth are the free economic zones? They are specially designated areas. They have a different industrial infrastructure and also give special privileges to foreign enterprises' investments in their areas with a view to attracting foreign capital.

For example, in these free economic zones it is permitted to set up enterprises funded totally by foreign capital. [Word indistinct] are exempt from customs duties. Tax rates on incomes, agricultural products, fixed assets, and dual remittances are also low in these areas.

Socialist countries began setting up free economic zones in the beginning of the 1980's. China has made the greatest achievements in this field. It has established four special economic zones, 14 open cities, and the Hainan Island Special Zone. It plans to change its whole Pacific coastal area into a single special economic zone in the future.

In addition to China, free economic zones have been set up in a number of socialist countries including Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania. Despite certain shortcomings in the activities of the free economic zones, these socialist countries think the zones are functioning successfully on the whole.

Now, how will things be in this respect in the Soviet Union? The Soviet Union, too, is working to set up free economic zones in some areas within the framework of reforming external economic exchanges. This work is being carried out along with measures to establish economic indepedence of localities and expand the authority of local power organs. A plan is now being studied to set up free economic zones around the ports of Odessa, Izmail, and Nakhodka and the [word indistinct] canal zone in the vicinity of Vyborg City near the border with Finland. A proposal is also being studied to set up a free economic zone in the Estonian Republic.

The Soviet Union regards free economic zones as an additional means to expand the network of joint ventures with foreign enterprises within the country. Through activities in these economic zones, the Soviet Union plans to expand the scale of production in border areas on the basis of advanced technology, increase the export of industrial products, and meet demand for some commodities lacking in the domestic market.

Free economic zones will greatly promote Soviet-Japanese cooperation, the rate of increase for which has cosiderably gone down of late. Then, in what fields could we strengthen cooperation with Japan? First of all, efforts should be made in the direction of forming joint production in the high technological sector, of expanding the export of Soviet industrial products to Japan, and of establishing joint ventures producing consumer goods. Particularly important in this regard is the participation of Japanese enterprises in free economic zones established in Siberian Soviet Far Eastern areas.

As you know, these areas are playing a pivotal role in Soviet-Japanese trading activities and economic exchanges. They are occupying 80 percent of the amounts of Soviet exports to Japan. Japanese enterprises' participation in free economic zones will be able to make up, to some extent, for the decrease in the mutual trade of the two countries in the wake of [words indistinct]. In addition, these economic zones will promote tourist businesses and stimulate cooperation in developing scenic spots and establishing recreation centers and sanatoriums in the Soviet Far East.

Referring to practical prospects for developing this kind of cooperation, Japanese enterprises have thus far presented numerous plans for developing cooperative projects in the Soviet Far East including the formation of free economic zones. Among them are the construction of an aluminium [word indistinct] smelting plant in Maritime Kray. They also include the construction of a plant for the production of machines to be used for processing fish and other aquatic products as part of a food joint venture. There are also proposals for building lumber mills, timber chip processing factories, and other facilities.

On the other hand, The Soviet Union hopes Japanese enterprises will participate in projects to produce various automobile parts and engines, medical apparutuses, medicines, home electrical appliances, computer devices, prefab houses, and others. Needless to say, both the Soviet Union and Japan should make great efforts to practically achieve positive results in free economic zones through these joint venture activities. However, this aim is fully attainable. In fact, there is a call for a speedy Soviet Government decision to shortly establish a free economic zone around Nakhodka Port. In addition, a study is being carried out on establishing similar economic zones in the southern part of Sakhalin Oblast, areas along the Baykal-Amur railways, and some other areas in the Soviet eastern region. The Soviet Union hopes to cooperate with Japan in formulating plans to set up free economic zones and in carrying out direct activities in these zones. When such cooperation is implemented, it will create a precondition for developing other types of advanced cooperation, including a joint advance into world markets.

USSR-Japan Venture Overcoming Problems

OW0402001989 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1000 GMT 29 Jan 89

[From the "Siberia Tour" program]

[Text] As was reported, PRAVDA carried an interview with Jugo Iwata, president of Tairiku Trade in Japan, by TASS correspondent Latysahev in Tokyo last October. In the interview, President Iwata discussed a series of problems facing Igirma-Tairiku, which was the first Soviet-Japanese joint venture company in lumbering and was set up in Irkutsk City. According to his remarks, the Soviet side was responsible for these problems. On 13 January, PRAVDA reported that the Ministry of Timber, Pulp, Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, the Soviet partner of Igirma-Tairiku, in cooperation with the Ministry of Transportation Construction and the Ministry of Communications, had decided to ensure effective production activities of the joint venture company. As a result, raw materials required by the company have been sufficiently secured and lines linking up with the company have been constructed with communications cables installed for telephone use between Moscow, the company, and Tokyo. Besides these, measures have been taken to ensure the smooth transportation of export-oriented timbers and reduce losses during transportation. These measures have resulted in the establishment of better quality control of products to be shipped to Japan.

In his answers to questions by a Moscow Radio reporter, (Soromonov), president of Igirma-Tairiku, said as follows: Our joint venture company made a profit last year. We shipped 65 percent of timbers produced by our company to Japanese markets last December. With this export, we were able to make some profit. The profit made it possible for us to pay back some of our loans. We still have some profits on our account after this repayment. The remaining profit will be used for the purchase of raw materials and others. In short, our last year's goal to yield profit can be said to have been achieved. This year, we have to yield more profit without deficit to pay back the loans. I think we will be able to pay back all the loans within 3 or 4 years.

Speaking of last year's business activities, needless to say, we had a great deal of difficulty. We think that what Mr Iwata said was right. We worked out measures to resolve problems facing our company after discussing them with Mr Iwata, who visited the Soviet Union last October and December. The measures have been already put into practice. For example, the construction of lines asked for by Mr Iwata is near completion, and communications are improving. However, our company still has some problems. They are not related to production. The production is going well, and transportation is smooth. The timber produced by our company is sold on the Japanese market and is in great demand. Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry Minister Busygin confirmed that Japan's buyers were satisfied with the quality of our products when he recently visited Japan. We cannot say that our joint venture company is under stable management. Exchange rates of the ruble, yen, and dollar are floating. Under this condition, there can can be no fixed price index for raw and other materials. For this reason, an immediate task we must tackle is to reduce such production costs as tansportation and others. At present, the most important task for us to carry out is to keep operating our company for one year without any deficit. At the end of last year, the Soviet Government announced its decision on the development of external economic exchanges. The decision called for a great deal of attention to the development of joint ventures with foreign enterprises. Under this decision, we have been able to make more positive exchanges with suppliers of raw materials and resolve problems facing our company. Various obstacles and restrictions facing our company are being reduced. This decision will bring interests to the business activities of our joint venture company.

LDP's Abe Meets Soviet Envoy on Armenia Relief

OW0502113689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] According to a TASS dispatch from Tokyo, Abe, secretary general of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party in Japan, called at the Soviet Embassy in Japan on 3 February to express his condolences to the victims of the Armenian earthquake. Scretary General Abe handed Soviet Ambassador Solovyev a relief donation amounting to Y39,467,483. This money was collected in a Liberal Democratic Party-sponsored nationwide campaign for the relief of victims in the earthquake and restoration work. Secretary General Abe himself participated in the campaign.

At the meeting with Ambassador Solovyev, Secretary General Abe confirmed that the Liberal Democratic Party intends to develop exchanges and contacts with the CPSU to deepen understanding between the people and leaders of the two countries.

Nikonov Receives MPRP Agricultural Delegation

LD3001171889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] In accordance with the plan of interparty ties, an MPRP delegation was in the Soviet Union 23-29 January. The Mongolian comrades acquainted themselves with the CPSU's work experience in conditions of the intensification of agro-industrial production, the further improvement of economic relations, and the mechanism of management and the application of lease-contracting. They had meetings and conversations in the agrarian department of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, and the Orel Obkom, and visited a number of agricultural and processing enterprises of the agro-industrial complex.

The delegation was received by Comrade Nikonov.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Soviet Officer on Far East Troop Reductions

OW0902000289 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Interview with Lieutenant General Kovalev, chief of staff of the Far East Military District, by unidentified reporter "recently"; place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Over the past few years the Soviet Union has put forward a series of proposals for improving the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and reducing the level of military confrontation in that region. Please listen to an interview conducted recently with Lieutenant General Kovalev, chief of staff of the Far East Military District.

[Reporter] In his UN speech last December, Gorbachev declared that the Soviet Armed Forces would be reduced by 500,000 persons. At a recent meeting with representatives of the Trilateral Commission, the Soviet leader declared that 200,000 troops would be cut in the eastern part of our nation. As a soldier, what do think of such a massive reduction of troops? Moreover, can you tell us how such a reduction will be carried out in the Far East Military District?

[Kovalev] As any person, I cannot but welcome the destruction of weapons that are used to kill and destroy. However, as a soldier taking part in implementing the political decision of such fundamental importance declared by Comrade Gorbachev, I will carry it out in such a way so as not to impair our country's defense capabilities. Reducing the Armed Forces by 200,000 people is a big event as far as the Far East Military District is concerned. Regardless of what is said, the level of military activity on the part of the United States and its partners in the Far East along the eastern border of the USSR has not been reduced. Scores of military exercises of all kinds are held there every year. The military exercises codenamed "Team Spirit" and "Severe Cold" alone are enough to startle people. If the USSR were to conduct similar exercises in the Gulf of Mexico near the U.S. border, how would the Americans react? To answer your question, I would like to say that we have already started to count the numbers with regard to reduction. It is still too early to go into detail. However, insofar as our military district is concerned, the reduction will be enormous. I would like to remind you that we have already made some reductions of troops along the border with China recently. This began when part of the Soviet troops were withdrawn from Mongolia. The scale of the troop reduction this time will be even larger. I believe that when all the preparations are completed, we will not keep the troop reduction secret.

[Reporter] The USSR has declared that the structure of Soviet troops in the West will become unambiguously defensive. Does this also involve the group armies in the military district in the east?

[Kovalev] There are significant differences in the structure of the Soviet Armed Forces in the European and Asian parts of the USSR. This is dictated primarily by physical and geographical conditions, but also by the inadequate surface transport facilities in the Far East. These factors, such as a sparse population in that region, the fact that the troops are responsible for vast areas, and the fact that the directions of operations are scattered, have also greatly affected the troop structure in the Far East Military District. All of this has compelled us to keep a large portion of the troops at a high level of combat readiness even in peacetime. However, the Soviet headquarters has always regarded the group armies in the Far East as being merely defensive. It is still too early to talk about the changes that will soon take place. Still, these changes will undoubtedly not only involve the troops, but the troop structure. In my opinion, we will make changes in areas where the danger of war is greatly reduced or completely eliminated.

[Reporter] NEWSWEEK has reported that during a large-scale military exercise 3 years ago, the Far East Military District had an attack drill on wiping out four Japanese divisions on Hokkaido. Because of this, Japan has accused the USSR of carrying out military threats and has brought up, as a supplementary argument, the two divisions stationed in the southern part of the Kuriles Islands.

[Kovalev] Troops on Sakhalin wiping out four imaginary enemy divisions is an old tune they have sung whenever a military exercise has been held in recent years. A correction, however, is in order: This does not happen in the course of an attack, but it does in the course of organizing defense. As far as I can remember, there has never been a plan to land Soviet troops on Hokkaido during the entire postwar period. As for the strength of troops on the Kuriles Islands, I may say that I have found out, rather interestingly, that rumors both at home and abroad are exaggerated. I feel that they are grossly exaggerated. Naturally, it is out of the question to say that there are two divisions on the Kuriles Islands.

[Reporter] Representatives of the Far East Military District and the Shenyang Military Region of China conducted joint aerial photography along the border last summer. Are there any other contacts between the Soviet

Union and China in the military realm in the Far East? In view of the new conditions and nature of the relationship between the two nations, what are the possibilities in this regard?

[Kovalev] You mentioned cooperation between the two military districts in aerial photography in the Soviet-Chinese border. This is very important work which will be continued for several years. A boundary line should be delimited along the entire border. This should lead to a reduction in the level of military confrontation between the two powers. As a matter of fact, this was the first contact between the Soviet military and the Chinese People's Liberation Army in many years. The implementation of confidence building measures and the establishment of a mechanism for discussing regional security issues have all been placed on the agenda. We took a step in this regard last summer by inviting the Shenyang Military Region to send representatives to observe a military exercise of the Far East Military District. Although the Chinese side declined the invitation that time, I believe an exchange of representatives to observe large-scale military exercises should become a regular phenomenon in the near future. Cooperation will not be limited only to the military domain. An ice hockey team from a Soviet military club in Khabarovsk recently participated in contests in Harbin, and we have already had the experience of exchanging athletic delegations. We have also had the experience of establishing economic ties through military and trade enterprise channels. We may also find other points of contact. We are convinced that since we have accomplished a lot between the Warsaw Pact and NATO with regard to confidence-building in accordance with the Stockholm agreement, the potential between the two great socialist nations in this regard is genuinely limitless.

[Announcer] In conclusion, General Kovalev said: We hope that a major breakthrough will be achieved in establishing—or more precisely, in restoring—good-neighborly relations between the armies of the two sides.

USSR-PRC Statement on Cambodia Viewed

BK0902074589 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Station observer commentary]

[Text] The Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers' joint statement has been the focus of world attention. Many countries' broadcasting media note that the exchange of views on certain issues of vital importance between the two giant countries has brought about optimism and hope that a comprehensive solution will be speedily achieved for Cambodia, which has unfairly experienced protracted suffering. The two sides were in agreement on various aspects of the Cambodian settlement. Our observer has the following comments:

When the PRK announced the national reconciliation policy in August 1987, it was noted that enemies were in great panic, as if they were being bombed. The opposition, which until then was thought to be firm like a bunch of sticks and which maintained a hostile position against the people's state authorities, was split. Leaders in the opposing camp who had good judgment, had softened their stances toward adopting a compromising attitude.

In general, the situation seems to be evolving splendidly as testified by the concrete normalization in international relations. Most countries increasingly realize that, in the current world, a political solution cannot be achieved if force is used. And now, the reality is gradually becoming concrete, with serious negotiations between the interested parties and the cooperation that provides mutual advantages. Based on this view, the PRK has taken an important step. The last most important phase was the informal meeting in Bogor in mid-1988. The essence of the meeting was that the participants reached an agreement on the key points of a solution to the Cambodian problem, except for the Pol Pot group which refused to join hands with the others in normalizing the situation around the Cambodian problem. And now, as the meeting among the Cambodian parties is approaching, the situation is becoming worse. However, as the regional officials stated, the nonparticipation of any party or of some parties in the meeting does not mean that the meeting will be deadlocked. By all means, if all the parties are present, the meeting will be more productive.

In light of this situation, the joint statement issued by the Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers has a cardinal role. In the document, the two countries hold the view that Cambodia's internal affairs should be resolved by the various Cambodian parties on the basis of a national reconciliation and through negotiations, without any external interference. This means that the USSR and PRC welcome the dialogue between the four Cambodian parties and hope the talks will fruitfully progress.

Realizing that after the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, the situation in the country could be dangerously aggravated and could even lead to a civil war, the USSR and the PRC appeal to all the Cambodian parties to speak the same language in order to take effective measures to avoid the calamity, such as putting a halt to all manner of hostile military operations and stopping the increase of military strength and, if possible, even gradually reducing it. In this view, the Soviet Union and China, based on the reality in the region and considering the Cambodian people's interest, jointly issued a statement favoring the prevention of a return of the recent past policy and practice to Cambodia or, in other words, the return of the genocidal Pol Pot regime. The fact that the USSR and the PRC reached an agreement on the issues will certainly exert positive influence both on the outcome of the coming meeting in Indonesia and the settlement of the Cambodian problem in general.

Cambodia's Hun Sen Cited on Thailand Talks

PM0602164389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Successful Visit"]

[Text] Phnom Penh, 3 Feb—"My visit to Thailand was a success," Hun Sen, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and minister of foreign affairs, has said in an interview to Kampuchean Press Agency. "It marks a breakthrough in the search for a Cambodian settlement and paves the way for the development of Cambodian-Thai relations."

The talks with Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan of Thailand produced satisfactory results. "As for the Cambodian problem, we set forth the position of the PRK, which calls for the simultaneous withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, the suspension, under international verification, of foreign aid to all Khmer groupings, and a cease-fire," Hun Sen said. The Thai side agreed that Cambodia's domestic affairs must be decided by the Cambodians themselves and promised that it would assist the organization of a meeting between representatives of the opposition forces and the PRK.

The importance of the development of bilateral economic relations was noted at the talks. "We have agreed in principle to the idea of transforming Indochina from a battlefield to a market for international trade, which was put forward by Chatchai Chunhawan.

The visit has alarmed opposition Khmer groupings, Hun Sen declared. Prince Sihanouk, as one of their leaders, has expressed dissatisfaction and refused to attend the upcoming second informal meeting on Cambodia in Jakarta. "Despite this, the talks will take place as planned, and our delegation is ready to depart for Jakarta."

UN Committee Discusses Cambodian Situation

LD0902092689 Moscow TASS in English 0844 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] New York February 9 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev:

A meeting of the special committee of the international conference on Kampuchea was held this Wednesday at the U.N. Headquarters here. It discussed the recent events linked with the Kampuchean problem. Absa Claude Diallo, the Senegalese delegate on the United Nations, who was elected chairman of the special committee, noted the "substantial progress" achieved of late in settling the problem's international aspects. They include, primarily, the time-table of the withdrawal of foreign troops, discontinuation of arms deliveries to all the Kampuchean sides, creation of a mechanism for international control. The agreements reached to set up a working group on Kampuchea, including representatives of the four Kampuchean factions, bilateral and multilateral meetings with the participation of Thailand, Vietnam, China, Indonesia and the Soviet Union, as well as meetings within the frameworks of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) deserve the international community's attention.

At the same time Apsa Claude Diallo noted the "retarded development" of the inter-Kampuchean dialogue. She urged the international community to promote an active participation in it of all sides concerned with a view to reaching an overall settlement.

The special committee decided to defer work on the programme of its actions in 1989 pending the outcome of current diplomatic initiatives on the Kampuchean issue.

EEC Protests Human Rights Abuse in Burma

BK0302123989 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Member nations of the European Economic Community, which has suspended economic aid to Burma, have sent a memorandum to the government of General Saw Maung through the French ambassador in Rangoon expressing concern over the widespread abuse of human rights in Burma. The French ambassador said that since the military coup in Burma, the military authorities have made no concessions to the demands of the Burmese people for peace, prosperity, and guarantees of human rights and democracy.

According to Western observers, at least 500 persons were killed during the coup.

The Western countries also accused the military authorities of forcibly recruiting civilians as porters for their military operations against ethnic rebels.

In a recent interview with the ASIA WEEK journal, General Saw Maung, leader of the Burmese military government, declared that only 15 persons were killed on the day of the coup and that 500 looters and saboteurs were killed after the coup. He said had the soldiers not used force on 18 September and thereafter, there would have been more casualties.

Gen Saw Maung said the situation in Burma has improved but is not good enough yet to hold elections. He said he would resign from his post as soon as the elections were held.

Philippine Trade Official Views Moscow Seminar

HK0602041589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Excerpts] A seminar aimed at expanding trade relations between socialist countries and ASEAN nations was held in Moscow on 23-27 January. Attending the seminar were officials from the Trade and Industry Department of the Philippines. Mrs Remedios Ambrosio headed the 3-woman Philippine delegation.

[Passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Ambrosio] We are here to learn about the new means of trade and industry in Russia and the other European socialist countries. We want to see for ourselves the new systems being utilized here, as enunciated by Gorbachev in his perestroyka and glasnost policies.

[Unidentified Radio Moscow interviewer] Which issues discussed in the seminar did you find most interesting?

[Ambrosio] We learned many things during our discussions, especially how industrial machinery has been restructured in Russia to make the industry more competitive worldwide. We also learned from the socialist countries about their new regulations governing joint ventures, and the promotion of cooperatives and unions that trade with other countries. Apparently, during the past most of the industries here were centralized. But Russian specialists point out that companies and industries here can now trade with non-socialist countries.

We are studying possible markets in alternative countries that we might be able to penetrate. During the seminar workshop, we looked at what Russia is doing to speed up the transfer of trade information to other countries. In the past, what impeded contact with countries like the Philippines was this lack of information about socialist countries, especially information about the economy, commerce, and industry of the socialist countries.

[Interviewer] What proposals raised during the seminar were considered a good basis for cooperation between our two countries?

[Ambrosio] One main proposal was for a plan to develop that region of Russia that is close to Asia. Because that area is in close proximity to the Philippines and the other Asian countries, there are several possibilities we can consider to develop this idea. There is a plan to set up an export-processing zone, or free trade zone, in Siberia, but this is still in the planning stage since there is not much infrastructure there at present to make this a reality. Perhaps the construction industry in that region might be able to employ Filipinos. Joint ventures with the large construction companies in the Philippines might be set up, such as hotels and other service facilities. The Philippines has a lot of highly-skilled manpower, as well as professional workers who could be utilized in such a free trade zone. This could be one of our main contributions to this plan.

[Interviewer] In your view, in which branch of industry could such joint ventures be effectively instituted?

[Ambrosio] The one area in which we might be successful is in the light industry sector, wherein an exchange of technology could take place to supplement our present systems. Our garment and furniture-making industry and the construction sector could benefit from this. And, of course, we could contribute in the manpower servicing sector, which is where we would have a competitive advantage. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Messages Thank SRV for Quake Assistance

Gorbachev Greets Leaders

BK0402150589 Hanoi VNA in English 1457 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Hanoi VNA Feb 4—Party General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh and State Council President Vo Chi Cong have received a message from Soviet party General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev thanking the government and people of Vietnam for their assistance to earthquake victims in the Soviet Republic of Armenia.

The message said: "The Soviet people highly appreciate the Vietnamese Government and people's disinterested and great assistance to the population in Soviet Armenia although Vietnam still confronts many difficulties.... In these grievous days, we Soviets have seen more clearly the support, and solidarity of the Vietnamese people in sharing our misfortune. We wholeheartedly thank the Vietnamese people for that noble deed."

"I am convinced that the Soviet-Vietnamese relations will continue to develop and strengthen in the interests of the two people," the message concluded.

Ryzhkov Thanks Do Muoi

BK0602044989 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Comrade Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, recently sent a message to his Vietnamese counterpart Do Muoi expressing thanks for the Vietnamese people's deep sympathy and assistance to the earthquake victims in Armenia. The message says:

Esteemed Comrade Do Muoi:

On behalf of the Soviet Government and the entire Soviet people, we would like to express to you and, through you, to the SRV Government and all the fraternal Vietnamese people, our heartfelt gratitude for your sympathy and timely assistance for the earthquake victims in Armenia. The SRV was among the first to demonstrate sympathy over the catastrophe of the Armenian people and all the Soviet Union, regarding our sufferings as your own.

The noble intention of the representatives of all strata of the Vietnamese people to aid the inhabitants in the areas struck by natural calamities and to alleviate their sufferings will live forever in the hearts of the Soviet people. The anguish of Armenia has won the extensive sympathy of all peoples on our planet. This severe trial has confirmed the solidity of the close friendship between the Soviet Union and Vietnam and our two peoples' readiness to extend to each other selfless internationalist assistance and support.

May I extend to you my respectful regards.

Gorbachev Message Thanks Indian Groups

LD0802201789 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] New Delhi February 8 TASS—A letter of thanks from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was handed over today to the chairman of the Friends of the Soviet Union Society, Bali Ram Bhagat, and the board of chairmen of the Indo- Soviet Cultural Society.

The ceremony was held at the House of Soviet Science, Culture and Arts in the Indian capital.

Gorbachev expressed profound gratitude to the leadership and rank-and-file members of the two societies for "sympathy and practical assistance in the wake of the misfortune that struck the Soviet people—the earthquake in Armenia."

Accepting with gratitude the Soviet leader's message, Bhagat said that the Indian people deeply commiserated with the Armenian and all Soviet people on the tragedy.

"We are striving to share your pain and help you in all ways we can," he said.

The Indian organisations are continuing the effort to raise more money for the Armenian relief fund.

Near East & South Asia

USSR-Pakistan Statement on Shevardnadze Visit

LD0602064289 Moscow TASS in English 0607 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Soviet-Pakistani statement—TASS headline]

[Text] Islamabad February 6 TASS—At the invitation of Pakistani Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, was on a working visit in Pakistan on February 5-6, 1989.

Eduard Shevardnadze was received by Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and met with Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. He also had talks with the Pakistani foreign minister.

The sides discussed international and regional issues of mutual interest, in particular, the situation relating to Afghanistan. They also discussed the current state of bilateral relations and ways and means of further expanding mutually advantageous cooperation in the economic, cultural and technical fields.

As for the situation in Afghanistan, the sides were unanimous that it was necessary to exert every effort to promote the political settlement in order to bring peace and tranquility to the Afghan people, to put an end to the protracted conflict which for a number of years characterized the situation in that country.

The ministers believe that the military way can only exacerbate the situation in Afghanistan which would only lead to new casualties and destruction all over the country. Political settlement offers the only way of preventing this.

The sides reaffirmed their intention to help set up a broadly-based government in Afghanistan, which must be formed through the efforts of Afghans themselves and reflect their right to determine their own fate, political and economic structures without interference from outside. The sides also reaffirmed their support for a sovereign, independent and non-aligned Afghanistan which would have good relations with all its neighbors. In this context the sides stressed the importance of the resolution on Afghanistan, unanimously endorsed at the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly, which expresses the common will of all countries of the world. In their opinion, it is necessary to do everything possible for the unconditional implementation of this resolution.

The Pakistani side noted the steps made by the Soviet Union for the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan and welcomed assurances that the pullout would be completed by February 15, 1989. In the interests of the Afghan settlement both sides reaffirmed their commitment to strictly observe the provisions of the Geneva Accords.

In discussing concrete issues relating to the situation in Afghanistan, the ministers considered the problem of the return home of Afghan refugees, most of whom are on Pakistani territory. They stressed the need to create conditions which will give all refugees an opportunity to return home safely and to live in peace.

Special attention was paid to the problem of providing food and other first necessity goods to the population of Afghanistan for the purpose of easing its plight. The ministers noted with satisfaction the relevant efforts made by the United Nations within the framework of the programme of economic and humanitarian aid to Afghanistan.

In considering bilateral relations the sides made a review of the state of cooperation in the economic, scientific and cultural fields and decided to take steps to develop them.

An agreement was reached to speed up the creation of a Soviet-Pakistani intergovernmental commission on trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation.

The sides also discussed the possibility of implementing projects in such fields as steelmaking, machine-tool industry, power engineering and mining.

The ministers agreed that regular consultations covering various issues of mutual interest would be implemented within the framework of the ministries of foreign affairs. These consultations will be rotated between Islamabad and Moscow.

Shevardnadze Arrives in Moscow From Pakistan

LD0602190189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Comrade Shevardandze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, returned to Moscow today from Islamabad. He was met at the airport by Comrade Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow gorkom, and by other officials. [passage omitted]

Troop Pullout From Afghanistan Continues

Said 'In Full Swing'

LD0902100689 Moscow TASS in English 0952 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Termez February 9 TASS—By TASS correspondent Iskander Khisamov:

The last week of Soviet military presence in Afghanistan is elapsing. The pullout of Soviet troops is in full swing. A large paratrooper unit and several motorized infantry contingents have crossed over the Amu-Darya Bridge linking Khairaton [name as received] on the Afghan side with the Soviet town of Termez (Uzbekistan) during the past three days. Logistics units will cross the border today.

One more motorized infantry unit is now crossing over to the Soviet bank with unfurled banners and to the music of a military band. Lieutenant-Colonel Igor Masyk jumps off the deck of his armoured carrier.

"We were among the first to move into Afghanistan on orders from our command," he said. "That was at the very end of 1979. We took part in many combat operations during the past nine years. But we also rendered much peaceful aid to the Afghan people. In Qandahar Province we assembled an asphalt and concrete-mixing plant. We transported foodstuffs and medicines for the local populations. This aid is being continued. When we were moving towards the Soviet border, we saw motor convoys loaded with peaceful goods rolling in the opposite direction".

Army General Nikolay Lyashchenko, who battled against the counter-revolutionaries in Central Asia in the twenties, was a member of the international brigade in republican Spain, and fought in the Great Patriotic War, welcomed the unit's officers and men at a field camp not far from the border before their departure for the hinterland.

"The Geneva accords on Afghanistan are in keeping with the new political thinking," the general said. "The Soviet Union adheres to these decisions scrupulously. Our lads are now returning home. We hope that the bloodletting on the long-suffering land of Afghanistan will be stopped through the efforts of all the sides concerned, through their goodwill. Political problems cannot be solved today by military force. This should be borne in mind."

The last Soviet soldier will have been withdrawan from Afghanistan by February 15.

Troops Arrive by Plane in Tashkent

LD0902120489 Moscow TASS in English 1151 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Tashkent February 9 TASS—IL-76 planes are touching down at a Tashkent airfield with Soviet trops from Afghanistan. According to the Geneva agreements, the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is to be completed in a few days time. Units that have arrived in Tashkent are being sent on to their new bases as others are arriving. The Kabul-Tashkent air bridge is functioning smoothly.

Columns Cross Salang, Reach Termez

PM0802115689 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik: "Hello, Motherland! The First Column of Combat Subunits From the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan Arrives in Termez"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] What memory are our internationalist servicemen leaving behind as they leave Afghanistan? No doubt each Afghan will have his own answer. This is what Daud Razmyar, secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and first secretary of Kabul City PDPA Committee, said at a reception to mark the end of the Soviet servicemen's international mission to Afghanistan:

"The Soviet troops are leaving, but our friendship remains. True to your duty as soldiers, all these years you have given everything—even your lives—for the Afghan people's freedom and independence. You taught our soldiers military skills, courage, and nobility. When this winter extremists tried to starve us out, the 'shuravi' were the first to come to our assistance. Soviet airmen airlifted more than 4,000 tonnes of flour to the capital. Soviet soldiers distributed rice and kerosene to the population free, straight from the trucks. Our people will always remember that..."

Let me add just one fact to this; it was reported by Hero of the Soviet Union Lieutenant General B. Gromov, commander of the limited contingent of Soviet troops, at a press conference for journalists who arrived from many countries specially to cover the final stage of the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan. More than 180 military camps with the full material and technical infrastructure, housing, canteens, medical premises and equipment, and bakeries are being left to the Afghan people and their Armed Forces by the Soviet subunits and units. They are worth some R660 million. Everything that could come in handy, that can be used, we are handing over to our Afghan friends. We are not simply handing it over legally—we are doing it by the laws of friendship, the laws of internationalism.

We saw this selfless assistance on the way. At dawn our column stopped near Jabal os Saraj. Hardly had the snowstorm died down when lines of peasants stretched out toward the city's outskirts. They returned carrying flour.

...By noon we arrived at the village of Wolang. It is 15 km from here to the pass. There was a brief meeting with the "commandant" of Salang, as people here call Colonel G. Alekseyev, chief of the road tunnel security group. With him were officers of the road commandant service and sappers. Their eyes were red with fatigue and sleepless nights, their faces pinched...

"We have not closed our eyes for three nights. There is a blizzard on the pass," Senior Lieutenant G. Vakhnin, chief of the dispatch point, told us. "All the machinery—road graders, snowplows, bulldozers—has been set to work to clear the snowdrifts from the road. People are tired enough to drop, but they are working."

A command from Guards Lieutenant Colonel Skachkov is passed along the column: Fit chains to the wheels, prepare the tow ropes! The armored carriers and infantry combat vehicles are the first to set off. Slowly, haltingly, we set off up the hairpin bends...

Here are the black maws of covered tunnels. The Salang Pass! How many stories are told about it, how many of our boys fell on its steep slopes. The skeletons of burned-out vehicles at the roadside remind you of this. The "work" of Ahmad Shah Masud's armed detachments. According to reports from competent Afghan bodies, 119 detachments—more than 3,500 people—are joined together in a general grouping of Ahmad Shah's supporters in southern Salang alone, armed with sophisticated weapons and hardware, including American "Stinger" antiaircraft installations...

At 1405 hours the leading vehicles emerged from Salang's last covered tunnel. The road descended steeply. We thought: We have crossed the most difficult and dangerous section. We were strong. The descent proved to be the most difficult and terrible. On the icy bends the vehicles were carried toward the edge of the road, toward the precipices. The tracks of many infantry combat vehicles and self-propelled artillery devices broke the ice within a centimeter of the abyss. The descent, 5 km long, took more than 4 hours.

Due tribute must be paid to the chief of our column. Calm and of few words, as usual, Guards Lieutenant Colonel Skachkov soberly assessed the situation and hurried people along. Two trucks coming toward us flew into the abyss one after another as we watched. Skachkov decided to close the road, and sent a combat vehicle down. He ordered everyone who was on the pass to take some sand and scatter it over the road. Everyone, of every rank and age, was dragging sand and scattering it over the icy roadway. The officers' belts with which they were dragging sacks of sand broke. We watched with anxiety as each vehicle, its cab open, set off downward... It was a feat by the military drivers. They should be mentioned here by name—they deserve it. But I cannot do so. Let me just name those whom I happened to meet on this difficult road: Guards Sergeant I. Gornak, Private D. Nasybulin, Guards privates R. Khamidulin, I. Goryachev, O. Varfolomeyev...

At 0530 hours on 4 February the column moved off from Chaugani [as transliterated]. The few night hours of rest had sped by. And once again—the desert road through sleet. At every turn, a temporary post. Tanks and infantry combat vehicles surrounded with stones, their towers covered... The white teeth of smiling men perched on the armor. They wave in greeting. And we shout back: "See you back home!"

Immediately behind us is an infantry combat vehicle carrying the inscription: "Crew named for Hero of the Soviet Union Guards Senior Sergeant Aleksandr Mironenko." Everyone in the regiment knows every detail of the brief, brilliant life of this 20-year-old Komsomol member... Now the vehicle with the hero's name on its side is driven by Guards Private R. Khamidulin. There are more than a dozen named vehicles in the column. They are remembered, those young, 20-year-old heroes. In the combat formation of the members of their regiment, they, the fallen, are coming home...

Pol-e Khomri, where the paratroopers warmed and fed us, is left behind. We have crossed the Atbili [as transliterated] pass. Kholm is behind us... With every kilometer, with every turn the Motherland is closer and closer.

Here is the Amu-Darya, along which the USSR state border runs. For some reason, it became hard to breathe. How can you find the words to convey everything you experience in these last meters! And suddenly the sad news reaches us. A column behind us met an avalanche on the way down the Salang Pass. There are casualties. Who are these servicemen who are not fated now to cross the threshold of their home? Forgive us for being unable to protect you, to help you!

Guards Lieutenant Colonel Skachkov, who brought his column to the Soviet border without a single loss, said in farewell:

"Of course, everyone is glad to be back. But it is a complex feeling. I do not know what predominates. There is the awareness of duty fulfilled, the sense of combat fraternity, the sorrow..."

At noon on 6 February our column entered Termez by the bridge over the Amu-Darya. As soon as the leading vehicle crossed the fifth span—the USSR State Border—a band struck up. Crowds, smiles, tears, flowers... The rally began. It was opened by S. Mamarasulov, first secretary of the Surkhan-Darya party obkom. The Motherland solemnly welcomed its sons. The speeches were full of gratitude to the servicemen for their honorably fulfilled military and international duty.

UN Observers Cited

LD0802192189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 8 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by special correspondent M. Ganiyev, with Ganiyev identified by screen caption]

[Text] Our special correspondent talks about the continuing withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan:

[Ganiyev] In the region of the border town of Termez, the largest bridge across the Amu-Darya River links our country with Afghanistan. I remember how in the December days of 1979 our soldiers passed along it into Afghanistan, and during that time how much freight has been transported along it for our southerly neighbor. Everything built over those years on that shore of the Amu-Darya is being left for the Afghan people. And today military columns are moving in an unending stream along the bridge to the native shore. Motor rifle subunits are travelling under red combat banners. [Video shows river; bridge over river; launches on the water; moving freight train carrying military hardware, with some cars covered; view of buildings on the shore; Soviet military hardware crossing the bridge; view of the sky over the bridge, showing white marks left by passing planes; more views of Soviet hardware and troops passing over the bridge, including armored personnel carriers and a truck; a uniformed soldier standing on the bridge as the latter pass by.]

Look. In a pale-blue sky, as though specially leaving a white trail over the border, an aviation autograph: Soviet squadrons are flying home. For the crews of the planes and these troops everything is now behind them and the exultant cries of hello homeland and the lads' excitement are understandable to all of us. It's not every day that soldiers return from war. Every minute they risked their lives, and not all of them were fortunate enough to cross this border alive and healthy. They are always with us, in the memory of the people. [Video shows onshore area with boards marked "USSR" and military vehicles sweeping into the area from the bridge; two men—UN observers—emerge from a large building in the same area; a clock on the wall shows the time at 0945; the two UN observers advance to talk to Ganiyev outdoors.]

The withdrawal of troops was the sole correct decision of the Soviet Government, say UN observers in a conversation with us. In the border zone they are attentively following the progress of the military subunits. [Video shows Ganiyev and the two UN observers standing talking some distance in front of the above-mentioned building; Soviet flags are flying outside the building.]

[Begin Ganiyev interview with UN observers] In your view, how is the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan proceeding?

[M. Valenchak, UN observer, identified by screen caption, speaking in English with superimposed Russian translation] We have been here since May of last year, and everything is going according to schedule. I think that by 15 February all Soviet troops will have been withdrawn from Afghanistan. [Video shows more views of hardware-loaded train going over the bridge.]

[Ganiyev] From the latest reports we know that provinces and towns in Afghanistan from which Soviet soldiers have withdrawn are being subjected to rocket fire and attacks. The blood of civilians is being spilt. Tell me, for the normalization of the situation in Afghanistan and for an end to the bloodshed will UN troops be brought in to Afghanistan, and if so, when?

[D. Elms UN observer, identified by screen caption, speaking in English with superimposed Russian translation] The UN Security Council, together with the UN general secretary, should make the decision on whether we will remain here when our functions come to an end, in conjunction with the Afghan authorities. [Video shows overall view of the Soviet border zone and another view of the river and the bridge, showing the Soviets progressing along it.] [end interview]

[Ganiyev] As you see, this question remains for the time being a most difficult one for the UN specialists, too. Very soon our troops will have completely left Afghanistan. The treaty of the Geneva agreements will be fulfilled, but our country, despite any and all kinds of complications, will give economic assistance and trade and maintain good neighborly relations with Afghanistan.

UN Observers' Role Outlined

LD0802110189 Moscow TASS in English 1055 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Termez February 8 TASS—Soviet servicemen, who have discharged their internationalist duty in Afghanistan, continue arriving here. UN observers, stationed near the Khairaton bridge, on the Soviet-Afghan frontier, are scrupulously recording every unit's movement. They have no troop withdrawal schedule or organisational claims to the Soviet side. [sentence as received]

Scores of units are now moving from Afghanistan's territory to the frontier. The withdrawal is being controlled by the Turkestan military district's task group, formed early in January this year. The command is maintaining close contacts with representatives of local party and local government bodies. All questions that can arise in the course of a such broad-scale operation have been jointly considered. Special meetings held on the occasion were repeatedly attended by representatives of the USSR Defence Ministry, the General Staff, and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Administration.

Reports on the movement of columns are coming to the task group headquarters. The data received are marked on a special chart and in communiques. Part of the task group officers are invariably staying on the Afghan bank of the Amu Darya River. Jointly with the frontier service they are carrying out a preliminary examination. The task group's main work begins on Soviet soil. They have to give thought not only to units but also to every individual serviceman. Hundreds of demobilised servicemen are leaving Termez every day, weapons and materiel are being loaded and sent out. Termez will remain in most of the servicemen's memory as an intermediate point of the way to a new place of service or to the parents' home.

Afghan Military Situation, Shura Preparations

LD0902155189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1035 GMT 9 Feb 89

["Afghanistan: The Military Situation in the Country, Preparations of the Consultative Council—TASS headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received] About thirty Afghans have fallen victim to the irreconcilable Afghan opposition, which again subjected one of the densely populated districts of the capital of Afghanistan to a rocket attack. Seven people died, and more than 20 have been hospitalized with severe injuries. Groupings of the extremists have, in recent days, subjected the cities of Lashkar Gah, Ghazni, Balkh, Khost, and security posts in the provinces of Balkh, Parwav, and Nangarhar to heavy artillery bombardment. In Khost, one person was killed and seven wounded.

Government troops have conducted operations to eliminate groups in the Province of Parwan. Major ammunition stores and some means of transport belonging to the rebels were eliminated. Artillery strikes have been effected against points where units of the opposition have concentrated between the district of Sarobi and the City of Jalalabad. The enemy suffered 12 deaths and 6 injuries. The irreconcilables, forced to retreat, threw two rocket launchers into the field of battle, some recoilless weapons, and a significant quantity of anti-tank and anti-infantry mines. The Afghan artillery also bombarded fortified regions of the extremists near Qandahar. In Daman District in the Province of Qandahar, units of the Afghan Army seized 23 enemy firing positions, and a weapons and ammunition dump. Despite the continuation of military operations in this region, more than 80 Afghan citizens who had earlier lived in Pakistan returned there on Tuesday.

A so-called consultative council (shura) is due to assemble in the Pakistani city of Rawalpindi on 10 February, attended by representatives of a number of Afghan opposition groupings based in Pakistan and Iran. The intention of the organizers, news agencies report, is that this body should form a 'transitional government' of Afghanistan in place of the present leadership of the country. The convocation of the council was preceded by lengthy discussions that demonstrated the existence of profound differences in the opposition camp. A number of its officials refused to take part in the work of the council, considering the idea of a 'transitional government' in its present form unrealistic. The extremist-minded part of the opposition continues to reject contacts with the Kabul authorities.

'Worsening Situation' Around Kabul Reported

LD0802192989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] It is several days now since the last Soviet soldier left Kabul. Our correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando, tells of the situation in the Afghan capital:

[Shkirando] From a purely military viewpoint, an ordinary atmosphere is being preserved in Kabul. All enterprises and learning establishments are working as usual. A special feature of the current situation in Kabul is that most enterprises, and particularly state ones, are now being guarded by paramilitary detachments which consist of PDPA members and members of the Democratic Organization of Afghanistan Youth, and likewise by self-defense detachments. I must note that, after the recent grand meeting and military parade in Kabul, PDPA members have come to feel that they represent a real force that can struggle successfully with the extremists. Yet, despite the comparatively stable military situation in Kabul, one still senses grave difficulties in the life of the people of the city. For several days now, there has not been any gasoline or domestic heating fuel in the city and there is not enough food. That situation is due to the fact that recently the armed detachements of the opposition have been attacking the convoys delivering essential goods to Kabul, primarily in the districts of Mir Bacheh Kowt, Shakar Darreh, Qarah Bagh, (Qarah Kar), and Bagram.

Due to the worsening situation, the supreme commander of the Afghan Army asked the elders of those districts yesterday to try to make the enemy stop the attacks on the convoys, or the army would take the necessary measures to defend the columns, all blame for which would fall on the enemy.

It is difficult today to predict how events will develop, but difficult tasks lie ahead for the Afghan leadership. After all, as Afghan President Najibullah said a few days ago, the time has come when, with the departure of the Soviet troops, the army, people's militia, and tribal military formations will have to take the defense of the fatherland and the people entirely by themselves.

PDPA Inclusion Necessary to Afghan Settlement

Exclusion Will Prolong Bloodshed

LD0902135389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1237 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, Feb (TASS)—TASS Observer Valeriy Vavilov writes:

In a few days time, the Soviet Union, true to the letter and spirit of the Geneva agreement, will complete the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan. But just as before, it remains (together with the United States), a guarantor of the agreement, and regards it as an obligation to ensure that the departure of the last Soviet soldier from Afghanistan does not become the threshold of a civil war. Unfortunately, there is more than enough explosive matter for that in Afghanistan, as well as in the neighboring countries: There are mounds of weapons, supplied there in the years of the "undeclared war," from the United States, England, and a number of other countries, and numerous detachments of mujahidin have formed. There is no unity in their ranks, but at the given stage they are united by the desire to usurp power in Kabul, drawing on support from within.

The mujahidin leaders do no wish to come to a compromise; they reject any talks with the present government of the republic, thereby not wishing to reckon with reality. For it is precisely the Kabul Government that possesses the real military and economic strength and is holding on to actual power in the country. It is precisely this government that is taking every possible step to achieve a compromise, to form an all-embracing coalition government consisting of representatives of all the groupings, all the political groups in the country, and which would represent the interests of all sides. The PDPA is by no means claiming a monopoly of power. On the contrary, it is prepared to share power, to enter the bodies of power, on the basis of equal rights, with other representatives of the Afghan people, representatives of the mujahidin, or political and religious figures scattered in many countries.

The first meeting of the consultative council of all opposition groupings, those fighting in Afghanistan and stationed in Pakistan and Iran, is due to be held in Rawalpindi on 10 February. This is yet another attempt to act in a separate way, without taking the realities into account. Meanwhile, whether it is to someone's liking or not, the PDPA is a reality; it is the most influential force in today's Afghanistan, and it would be simply illogical to ignore it.

Any attempts to remove the PDPA from participation in the shaping of a coalition government mean one and the same thing—the striving to continue the war and bloodshed. But how long can this last? How many Afghans have yet to sacrifice their lives to satisfy the excessive ambitions of the opposition leaders? Is it not the time to change one's mind? Here the UN organization could play an important role. Its active participation in the cause of practical peaceful settlement would be useful, and could prevent the unleashing of a civil war. There is still time for a peaceful settlement, and it is important not to waste it.

Prepared for Struggle If Necessary

PM0902120189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Roundup prepared by Yevg. Bay in Moscow and Yu. Tyssovskiy in Kabul: "Afghanistan: The Party Is Preparing for Struggle"]

[Text] An Afghan Foreign Ministry spokesman has officially confirmed that weapons—automatic rifles and grenade launchers—have been issued to 30,000 PDPA members for the defense of Kabul. At least 45,000 party members have undergone military training, including 5,000 women who have formed medical services subunits and enlisted in the government army and the self-defense forces, according to REUTER reports.

According to a TASS correspondent's report, all Soviet troops have left Kabul apart from a small subunit that has stayed behind temporarily to guard the capital's airport. The handing over of the city's military regulations zone [rezhimnaya zona]—security outposts with the appropriate ammunition supplies, rear services facilities, bases, and medical institutions—to Afghan units has been completed. At the same time, the Air Force base at Bagram (about 80 km from Kabul) was handed over to the Afghan side.

According to news reports on Tuesday, an 80-km section of the Kabul-Hayraton Highway between the capital and Jabal os Saraj came under the complete control of Afghan forces.

The "implacables" attempted to display aggressiveness along several sections of this highway and to obstruct the handover of security posts and other military installations, but they encountered powerful resistance and terminated their raids. Nonetheless, according to operations reports, some 430 armed opposition formations belonging to various parties, whose numerical strength was earlier estimated at 12,000 men, are concentrated all along the route of the Soviet forces' eastward withdrawal. There are 178 groups with a total strength of over 5,000 men along the westward route. Additional mujahidin forces have been recently moved to these regions, but so far they have been reluctant to engage in active combat operations.

The elements still remain the main and almost insuperable obstacle. Strong winds and intensely cold weather are raging at Salang nowadays and snow conditions remain difficult. There are constant avalanches and the road surface is covered by ice.

On Tuesday, the Army Command appealed to all civilians living in the Salang area of the Kabul-Hayraton highway—the crucial highway link between the Afghan capital and the Soviet border—to move out of their villages. This measure was undertaken in view of the likelihood of even fiercer fighting and in order to prevent additional casualties among the civilian population.

There are no more Soviet combat aircraft to be seen in the sky above Kabul, but there are about 12 IL-76 military transport aircraft landing at the airport every day, still bringing in food and prime necessities for the population.

UN representative Staffan de Mistur [name as transliterated] announced in Kabul that 390 tonnes of food and medicines are already packaged in Pakistan and awaiting shipment to the Afghan capital. And the first of the UN Boeing-707 aircraft has yet to take off from Islamabad with a cargo of aid for Kabul.

This delay is possibly linked with the talks being held between Aga Khan [name as transliterated], UN coordinator for the provision of aid to Afghanistan, and Afghan opposition leaders. The latter have demanded that all aid be funneled through their organizations. If food supplies are shipped directly to the Kabul regime, they threaten that Afghanistan's airports and bases will be attacked and shelled.

BAKHTAR reports: The airport in Qandahar, Afghanistan's second largest city, was subjected to massed fire on 7 February. Dozens of land mines and rocket-propelled shells exploded in the take-off and landing strip area. Afghan aircraft met the opposition's challenge. Radio Kabul reported that 150 insurgents have been killed in the last 24 hours.

This report on the fighting in Qandahar contradicts the news sent from Afghanistan's interior regions by a WASHINGTON POST correspondent. "Official spokesmen for the insurgents," he claims, "have declared that there will be no major offensive operations before 17 February."

The editorial office has only just received a report, as yet unconfirmed by official sources. An AFP report from Damascus says that secret talks were held a few days ago between Afghan oppositionists from G. Hikmatyar's grouping and high-ranking representatives of the Republic of Afghanistan Government. Afghan opposition spokesmen admitted, AFP reports, citing a senior Pakistani official, that a solution to the Afghan problem can be achieved only via talks. In his opinion, realistically minded people within the "Alliance of Seven" have realized that "the Kabul regime will not topple immediately following the withdrawal of Soviet forces and that any gamble on overthrowing it by military means would lead only to further bloodshed."

A similar report was carried by Radio Monte Carlo quoting its Damascus correspondent, and these contacts were earlier mentioned by the Lebanese newspaper AL-SHA'B.

News agencies also report that final decision has been reached on the number of delegates from various political parties, religious organizations, and refugees who will attend the 10 February consultative council, or "shura." DPA reports from Pakistan that, according to a statement by "Alliance" leaders, "the opposition proposes to move the seat of the future provisional government, due to be elected by the 'shura,' to within a few kilometers of Kabul so as to exert constant pressure on the Najibullah regime."

"The government and the PDPA will support any 'shura' that would advocate political settlement of the conflict," a Foreign Ministry spokesman declared in Kabul in this context. "Unfortunately, the composition of this 'shura' can only intensify the military confrontation in Afghanistan."

Afghan USSR Envoy Confident on Kabul Army

LD0902113789 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 9 TASS—"The Afghan armed forces have grown stronger during the 10-year-long armed struggle against the opposition, have acquired a wealth of combat experience and are perfectly able to defend effectively the gains of the April revolution," it was stated by Sayyed Gulabzoy, the Afghan ambassador to the USSR and member of the Politburo of the People's Democratic Party's Central Committee. He stressed in a talk with TASS correspondent Konstantin Voitsekhovich that the "withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan would not weaken the positions of the republic's central government."

"We shall resolutely beat off by armed force any rebel attempts to overthrow the Kabul Government," Sayyed Gulabzoy said. "At the same time, our call to the opposition to start a dialogue with a view to achieving national reconciliation, avoiding further bloodshed, remains in force."

Sayyed Gulabzoy qualified the decision of some Western states to evacuate their embassy staffs from the Afghan capital as an attempt to create a false impression throughout the world about the situation in Kabul.

THe Afghan ambassador noted that a consultative council (shura), which the opposition calls for, could serve as a starting point for achieving an Afghan settlement. It is necessary, however, he pointed out, that all parties and groupings, representing the people of Afghanistan, including the People's Democratic Party, as one of the country's most powerful and influential forces, should be represented on that body.

"The withdrawal of Soviet troops marks a new phase in the development of Soviet-Afghan relations", Sayyed Gulabzoy said. "The people of Afghanistan evaluate deservedly the assistance which the Soviet Union has rendered and continues to render our country. The Soviet friends have put up free-of-charge over 170 industrial enterprises in Afghanistan, which constitute the foundation for our economic development. I am sure that fraternal cooperation between our two nations will continue to develop just as fruitfully in the future too."

Najibullah Addresses Clergy in Kabul

LD0802214889 Moscow TASS in English 2142 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 9 TASS—The national reconciliation policy proclaimed by the Afghan leadership is the only way for ending the fratricidal war, said Afghan President Najibullah. Speaking at a meeting of representatives of the clergy in Kabul on February 8, he noted that the aim of this policy is to restore peace and quietude and to ensure security for all citizens of the country.

The Afghan Republic, Najibullah pointed out, exerted utmost efforts to sign the Geneva Accords and to observe their provisions strictly. The limited contingent of Soviet troops virtually returned home. However, Pakistan, trampling underfoot provisions of the documents signed in Geneva, is increasing the scale of aggression against the neighbouring sovereign state, said the Afghan leader. He called on the clergy to promote in every way national reconciliation and to exert utmost efforts to stop the war on Afghan soil.

Paper Says TASS Doubts Najibullah Survival

PM0902161689 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 8 Feb 89 pp 1,8

[Giulietto Chiesa dispatch: "Soviets in Kabul—'Najib Is Doomed'"]

[Excerpt] Kabul—"We do not think there is any reason to share the optimism of some Soviet diplomats who think the Najibullah regime is capable of defending itself for long." This astonishingly frank passage was not written by a Western diplomat. It is a TASS dispatch the Kabul correspondent sent to Moscow a few days ago: It was not intended for distribution through international channels, but for restricted information intended for qualified readers. It shows that there is not even agreement among the Soviets on what is happening in Afghanistan. Indeed, from here you have the impression that the view of the dispatch writer is prevalent among the few Soviets who remain in the Afghan capital. The six houses which housed the families of the Soviet teachers at the polytechnic are now deserted. The armored vehicles that protected them have vanished; no one is left. Moscow is now in the difficult and embarrassing position of being unable to close its own embassy—which would be a final blow to Najibullah's stability—and of making a small group of diplomats and journalists run the serious risk of unforseeable consequences.

All Soviet civilian personnel have been withdrawn from Kabul. The ones who must remain for the basic operation of offices have been transferred to the embassy. A restricted TASS dispatch that criticizes the optimism of some Soviet diplomats about the Najibullah regime's chances of survival explicitly tackles this problem: "Kabul citizens," the Soviet journalist writes, "avoid answering questions about the Soviet embassy's fate. Some are inclined to think it unlikely that it will be directly attacked. However, they do not rule out the possibility of unexpected disturbances during which even foreign representatives could suffer harm." The anxiety here is obvious. What will happen to the reduced contingent of representatives of "Russian imperialism" who remain in Kabul and whose only defense will be the embassy walls and the theory that the mujahidin will respect the norms of international law?

The Soviet journalist is well informed. "According to the opinion of a wealthy merchant," he writes, "the people are now on the point of exploding because the continuation of the war is making them despair. The people think that the extremely serious economic conditions are an effect of the presence of "occupying forces" in the country.... The possibility that the Soviet air force's bombing in the Panjsher region has contributed to whipping up extreme hatred among the population cannot be ruled out." [passage omitted]

Turkish Help on Afghanistan POW's Requested

Request Made to Foreign Ministry

TA0702174389 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1700 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] The Soviet Union has requested the aid of Turkey and Pakistan in securing the release of some 300 POW's in the hands of the Afghan mujahidin. According to information obtained by a Turkish Radio and Television correspondent, the Soviet Union has officially submitted its request to the Foreign Ministry. Foreign Ministry spokesman Inal Batu said Turkey received the request positively.

Turkey Working To Secure Release

TA0802123689 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1100 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Turkey is engaged in intensive activities to secure the release of the approximately 300 Soviet POW's in Afghanistan. Foreign Ministry spokesman Ambassador Inal Batu has declared that Turkey views the release of the Soviet soldiers as a humanitarian issue.

In his weekly news conference, Batu recalled that Turkey has always advocated the view that the mujahidin should return to their country under their own free will. The spokesman added that every effort will be exerted to secure the release of the imprisoned Soviet soldiers as well.

In response to a question, Batu said Turkey wants the meaningless war in Afghanistan to end as soon as possible. Pointing out that his government welcomes the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, Batu continued: We want a government comprised of the genuine representatives of the entire Afghan nation to come to power soon, paving the way for the establishment of peace, which has been lacking in this country for years, and putting an end to bloodshed and tears.

Pakistan Trying To Unify Afghan Rebels

LD2901143189 Moscow TASS in English 1212 GMT 29 Jan 89

(Excerpt] Kabul January 29 TASS—Pakistani Intelligence agencies have intensified their efforts to consolidate the Peshawar-based anti-Afghan "Alliance of the Seven," the BAKHTAR NEW AGENCY reports. General G. Hamid, head of the Pakistani military intelligence, has already had secret meetings with the leaders of several "alliance" groups.

The "Alliance's" current head Sebghatullah Mujaddedi admitted to BAKHTAR the fact that the Pakistani agents were exerting pressure on the Afghan opposition to make it ensure their infiltration in the Afghan territory.

The BAKHTAR NEWS AGENCY quotes a spokesman for the Afghan opposition in Iran as saying that Shiite groups would not cooperate with the Peshawar "Alliance of the Seven" in forming a provisional governemnt. [passage omitted]

Kabul's Wakil, UN Official Discuss Human Rights

LD0502180589 Moscow TASS in English 1634 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 5 TASS—Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil received on Sunday Felix Ermacora, special reporter of the UN Human Rights Commission. They discussed questions connected with the observance of human rights in Afghanistan and their violation by the armed opposition forces.

The sides agreed that Ermacora would submit a report on the observance of human rights in Afghanistan to a session of the UN commission in Geneva this February.

On the same day Ermacora left for Geneva.

Soviet Kuwait Envoy on Afghanistan, Saudi Ties

JN0502144789 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 4 Feb 89 p 4

[By Husayn Salamah]

[Text] Moscow welcomes Kuwait's contributions towards solving the Afghan problem, according [to] Soviet Ambassador Ernest Zverev. The Ambassador announced yesterday that his country holds the positive and constructive attitude of the Kuwaiti leadership in the highest esteem.

He added that every time he met Kuwaiti leaders in his capacity as Soviet ambassador to Kuwait, he witnessed concrete signs of cooperation and understanding on the part of these officials towards obtaining an acceptable solution.

Kuwait is one of the few Islamic states that still maintains diplomatic relations with the government in Kabul, the official said. He praised Kuwait's role as the chairman of the Organisation of Islamic Conference, (OIC).

Zverev emphasised that even after the Soviet troop withdrawal, the Afghan problem will be far from settled. He added that the Soviet Union welcomes the assistance from any state towards solving the Afghan crisis—especially from the Kuwait which plays a vital role in the Arab and Islamic worlds.

He praised Kuwait's policy, adding that although Kuwait is a small country, it wields big political clout. He also praised Saudi contribution to solving the Afghan issue.

Zverev added that the Soviet Union still believes that the best way to solve the Afghan problem is through peaceful negotiations and the formation of an Afghan government in which all parties are represented.

He added that a comprehensive solution cannot be achieved without a ceasefire. He regretted that the Afghan opposition comprising of seven fronts still rejects a ceasefire and insists on fighting. He said: "They have still not replied to Soviet proposals in the Taif and Islamabad meetings." The ambassador called for implementing the Geneva accord, but added, the Soviet Union and the government in Kabul are still ready to negotiate with opposition parties in Afghanistan.

The official stressed that Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan is going on as scheduled and will be completed before the 15th of this month. He indicated that parties that had been calling for Soviet withdrawal are now using every tactic to put obstacles to this withdrawal. He added that the Soviet Union is working very hard to ensure that Afghanistan is an independent and nonaligned country.

Zverev, described Kuwait-Soviet relations as very advanced adding that relations in the trade and economic sectors needed to be further developed.

The official said that the visit of the Soviet oil minister to Kuwait last Feb 12 will help improve Soviet-Kuwait cooperation in the oil sector.

He added that the relations between Saudi Arabia and the Soviet Union were not severed but the two countries exchange no diplomatic representatives.

Positive factors in the Saudi-Soviet relations have considerably increased. Among these factors was the visit of the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vorontsov to Riyadh and his meeting with the Custodian of the two Holy Mosques, King Fahd. There are other events that indicate increasing positive prospects in Soviet-Saudi relations, Zverev said without further elaboration. He added that with the lapse of time, diplomatic representation between the two countries will be restored. He said: "We are optimistic about future relations."

Zverev stressed the importance of peaceful negotiations between Iraq and Iran and added that it may require some more time. He added that converting from a scene of war into one of peace and understanding takes some time. As the two armies were still facing each other at close range in various border areas, he did not rule out the possibility of a renewed crisis.

It is necessary to continue negotiations udner UN auspices as positive signs have been achieved by the exchange of POW's and the formation of the joint military committee, he said.

He added that the Soviet Union actively contributed to put an end to the fighting and made contacts with Tehran and Baghdad to achieve this goal. The Soviet Union also contributed through the UN Security Council in issuing Resolution 598. The Soviet Union will continue this policy until durable peace is achieved in the region and stability and freedom of navigation is achieved in the Gulf, the official said.

The Soviet ambassador refused to predict the outcome of the Middle East peace conference to be held this year. He said that what was important was not the holding of a peace conference per se, but the results.

He expressed optimism on the Palestinian question, although he described the issue as complicated. He said that the idea of holding the peace conference has been attracting more support and the most important recent one is the West European position in supporting.

He said that now it's only the USA and Israel that refuse to hold the conference. Zverev said that Soviet contacts with Israel, especially the meeting between Shevardnadze and Israeli Foreign Minister, Moshe Arens, was aimed at convincing the Israeli leadership to positively respond to peace efforts.

The main aim of these contacts is to arrive at practical steps to solve the Middle East problem. He said that the Soviet Union exerted every effort in trying to bring about a solution to the conflict in the past years and is determined to continue these efforts. He added that based upon this, it is still difficult to say whether the peace conference will be held this year or not.

Moscow-Tel Aviv Air Link Not Discussed in Talks

PM0702155089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 6, 5 Feb 89 p 2

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Setting the Record Straight": "Talks That Never Took Place"]

[Text] The Voice of Israel broadcast information about the successful completion of the first round of talks between Aeroflot and the Israeli El Al airlines about the opening of a direct flight between Moscow and Tel Aviv. The talks allegedly started at the initiative of the Soviet side.

MN [MOSCOW NEWS] was assured by the Department of International Relations of the Soviet Ministry of Civil Aviation that no talks took place between Aeroflot and El Al especially at the Soviet initiative.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Civil Aviation pointed out that Aeroflot was interested in guarding its economic interests. In particular, it might have discussed special "commercial" tariffs or the mutual recognition of air tickets by the two air companies.

Oil Minister Visits Iraq for Trade Talks

Meets Iraqi Counterpart

LD0602204889 Moscow TASS in English 1845 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Baghdad February 6 TASS—The Soviet-Iraqi Standing Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation opened a session in the Iraqi capital Monday.

The delegations are led by oil ministers Vasiliy Dinkov and Isam 'Abd al-Rahim al-Jalabi.

The Iraqi minister said opening the session that the successful development of bilateral cooperation in various fields is of major importance for Iraq's economy.

He voiced conviction that the session will give a new impetus to the further development of Iraqi-Soviet relations of friendship and cooperation.

Meets With Deputy Prime Minister

LD0802130489 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Baghdad February 8 TASS—Iraqi First Deputy Prime Minister T.Y. Ramadan received Soviet Oil Minister Dinkov on Tuesday. Dinkov is in Iraq as the head of the Soviet delegation at a regular meeting of the Soviet-Iraqi commission for economic, scientific and technological cooperation.

They discussed Soviet-Iraqi relations in various fields. Both were satisfied with the present stage of these relations and expressed a desire to continue expanding traditional cooperation between the two countries.

The Soviet delegation took part in a ground breaking ceremony at the new "Al-Yusifia" thermal power station near Baghdad. The ceremony was attended by H.K. Hasan, Iraqi minister of industry and military production.

The construction of the 1,680 megawatt "Al-Yusifia" thermal power station will be carried out by the Soviet Union which has already built several power engineering projects in Iraq.

Dobrynin, Egyptian Envoy Discuss Mideast

LD0202134689 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—Anatoliy Dobrynin, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on Wednesday received Ahmad Mahir al-Sayyid, ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the USSR, at the latter's request. During the talk they discussed the situation in the Middle East.

Zotov Appointed New Ambassador to Syria

LD0202210989 Moscow TASS in English 1801 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament) has appointed Aleksandr Zotov Soviet ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Syria.

Zotov was born in 1941. He has been engaged in diplomatic work since 1964. He held several senior posts at the central apparatus of the Soviet Foreign Ministry and its offices abroad. From 1980 till 1985 he was a counsellor of the Soviet Embassy in the United States, in 1985-1986—deputy head of the Middle East Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Middle East and Northern Africa Directorate.

From 1986 till 1988 Zotov worked as a consultant at the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and then as an acting ambassador at large of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Since January of 1989 Zotov is Soviet ambassador in Syria with a diplomatic rank of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has relieved Aleksandr Dzasokhov of his duties of the Soviet ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Syria in connection with his transfer to another job.

East Europe

Academician Comments on 'Crisis' in Socialism

LD0802231489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] All the socialist countries are undergoing, in one way or another, a stage of renewal, a watershed period that has been evoked by the economic, social, and political problems that have accumulated. This has served as a pretext for many Western observers to speak of a crisis in socialism. An answer was given to the authors of such commentaries during a thorough talk on 8 February at the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry between Academician Bogomolov, head of the Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System under the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Soviet and foreign journalists.

Evidently a crisis is occurring, the scientist stated. Yet it is not a crisis in socialism and its ideals, but rather a crisis in the Stalinist embodiment of those ideals. Stalinism, as a specific form of social organization, has turned out to be incapable of withstanding the challenge of time, or of solving the ripe problems of social and economic progress. It is known that the Stalinist model for the economy and social organization was uncritically lent to or imposed upon many countries that had chosen the road of socialist development. Thus, the requirement of restructuring has objectively appeared not only in the Soviet Union, but in other socialist countries as well, although it is not always realized at one and the same time by the leaders of those countries.

The transformations that have become ripe, stressed the academician, have evoked an active quest by scientists for a new model of socialism appropriate for the contemporary era with its scientific-technical achievements, with the new level of knowledge in society, and with the requirement for democratizing social life and international relations. However, the model for renewed socialism and its economy, stated Bogomolov, has not yet been formed. It remains a subject of discussions that are at times even fairly sharp. Anyway, he said, we are in no hurry, having destroyed the old model, to raise a new model up onto a pedestal for praise.

Budapest Radio Highlights Remarks

LD0802231589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] According to a renowned Soviet scientist, Hungary could remain a member of the Warsaw Pact even if a political system similar to the Austrian or the Swedish one were to come into existence. Academician Bogomolov expounded this as a hypothesis at his news conference. He said that it would not represent a danger if, in Hungary, there were to take place political and economic changes so profound that they would result in a Western-style bourgeois democracy.

Speaking about socialism, he said that while the new social model has not yet come into being, it is certain that it is rather the self-regulation of the market, the pluralism of interests, and a political direction which is rather of an orienting nature, which could be the main characteristic of the future.

He does not consider the fact that several parties exist today in certain socialist countries as real political pluralism, because they function alongside the Communist Party, and thus they are condemned [karhoztatva] to the role of second fiddle.

Academician Bogomolov also said that in the Soviet Union the introduction of the multiparty system is not on the agenda, although theoretical research is under way on this topic.

Explosion Damages Building in Czechoslovakia

PM0902152389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Explosion in Usti nad Labem"]

[Text] Prague, 8 Feb—An explosion occurred early this morning at the national committees building in Usti nad Labem, the administrative center of the North Bohemian Kraj. This has been reported by the CTK agency. The building, where the local organs of power are housed, suffered considerable damage but there were no casualties. Measures were taken to deal with the consequences as quickly as possible. The causes of the explosion are being investigated by a special commission of staffers from the CSSR national security organs. As the CTK report notes, there is no doubt that the explosion was deliberate.

Urban Comments on Polish Reforms, Problems

PM0302160189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban by B. Averchenko and O. Losoto in Moscow: "A Difficult Choice: Poland: Political and Trade Union Pluralism"; date not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Many readers are interested in the processes taking place in Poland. Minister Jerzy Urban, Polish government spokesman, visited Moscow recently. We invited him to the editorial office and asked him to describe life in the fraternal country today, the socialist renewal taking place there, and the decisions of the recent PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

[Correspondent] Introduce yourself to PRAVDA readers, please. Tell them about yourself.

[Urban] My name is Jerzy Urban. I am 55. My official title is government press representative. I provide the link with the mass media and the public. I was in journalism for 30 years. I spent 8 years in my last post. I am married and have one child.

[Correspondent] For several years now you have held a news conference every Tuesday. Is it a heavy burden?

[Urban] It is not an onerous duty. Especially since there is nothing daunting in having to work really hard once a week. The news conferences I conduct have become a good political tradition. Polish journalists and foreign press representatives take part in them. They can ask any question on any topic of interest. Accounts and detailed reports on the press conferences are published in the Polish press, and full verbatim accounts appear in the government newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA.

[Correspondent] What is your normal workday like?

[Urban] Each day is different. I work in weekly cycles. I prepare for my news conference by studying reports for several hours. They come from the Polish press and the foreign mass media. Then I talk on the telephone with responsible comrades working on particular questions, and this may be of interest at the news conference.

Like any functionary I have to take part in a large number of different meetings. For example, I sometimes take part in sessions of the government presidium, in the work of various government commissions, and in sessions of the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee, of which I am a member. I also take part in the work of a number of party Central Committee commissions. They have been set up to prepare various political decisions and also to work on the most acute economic problems.

The point of our work is that today propaganda is not a simple set of words following the adoption of a decision. Today it is necessary to ensure that those people who work in information and propaganda, by taking part in the decisionmaking process and possessing information, can predict, consider, and utilize people's feelings and public opinion.

[Correspondent] The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum decisions are undoubtedly a turning point in Poland's life. Today they are at the center of Polish society's attention and are arousing intense interest abroad, particularly here in the Soviet Union. What do you see as the fundamentally new character of the 10th plenum decisions? Are they a continuation of the party's strategic line or a completely new course?

[Urban] They are a continuation of the strategic line, although there has been a substantial change within that line. In the period 1980-1981 we tried to conduct an experiment with "Solidarity." That experiment failed, and it failed so badly that we were forced to save the country by introducing martial law. W. Jaruzelski, speaking on the introduction of martial law, stated that internal reforms would be implemented consistently in Poland and that we would not deviate from that line. The process of implementing reform brought us to the point where there was a need for a considerable change in current policy. There are many internal and external reasons for this. The external preconditions are the new shape of East-West relations that has arisen because of the implementation of the principles of Soviet foreign policy, and M.S. Gorbachev's course, which is having a considerable influence on the shaping of international relations. We recall how the West incited the opposition in Poland to pursue a policy of confrontation. Now that has changed considerably.

Progress in implementing the policy of restructuring and glasnost in the USSR influences the PZPR and political circles in our country as well as the opposition itself. The anti-Soviet sentiment in the opposition, at least in the moderate opposition, is disappearing, diminishing. This itself makes the opposition a partner.

The situation on Poland's internal political scene also inclines us toward carrying out an abrupt change. In the past 2 years, mainly last year, we made mistakes in economic policy which worsened society's attitude toward the former government and the authorities as a whole. As a result there were two waves of strikes, albeit of limited scale. There was a revival of the myth of Solidarity, on which some people pinned their hopes of a better economic policy. More than 300 illegal Solidarity organizations were created at enterprises, some of them large enterprises.

It has become noticeable that the PZPR's influence is waning and that the forms of exercising power employed until recently were outmoded. There was a change of political orientations in Poland, that is, a kind of recarving of the country's political map. The opposition split into two sections. One consists of those people who believe socialism in Poland cannot be reformed and must be replaced by another system. The other section consists of those who believe socialism is reformable and that by a revolutionary path it can be made more amenable to people's lives.

Since Mieczyslaw Rakowski's election as prime minister there have been substantial changes in the country's economic foundation, that is, radical reforms have been energetically implemented. The economic base is being transformed in such a way that there must also be a change in the political system and the position of the church, which is a great political force in our country, even though it does not declare the fact itself.

The present-day party aktiv has few followers among young people, who are skeptical and concerned mainly with their own private problems. The new trade unions, although autonomous [samostoyatelnyy], militant, and independent [nezavisimyy] , also create a serious problem of principle. In practice they represent the kind of force which basicallt does nothing but issue demands. For us this creates problems of seeking new formulas, independently of Solidarity. Those are just some of the preconditions which justified the change in our policy. The conclusion was derived from Poland's realities at the beginning of 1989.

In the historical sense this is a question of "to be or not to be" for the PZPR. The party's action as the initiator of changes, sometimes changes even more far-reaching than the opposition has proposed, is an acceptance of responsibility for the future and the taking of initiative into its own hands.

[Correspondent] The press has reported on the intense discussion at the Central Committee plenum. Clearly not all party members fully understood the need for an abrupt change, and there is much explanatory work ahead.

[Urban] Yes, of course, the struggle between different viewpoints and opinions will now become permanent. The stance taken by the plenum on political and trade union pluralism has generated different opinions in the party. On the legalization of Solidarity opinions were divided approximately 50-50. Polls attest to that. In society as a whole the majority supported the rebirth of Solidarity, but on new bases.

In the party and the state apparatus the resistance to the return to the Solidarity experiment is quite great. That is only natural, because everyone still remembers what happened in 1981.

As W. Jaruzelski has said, you cannot go forward while looking back. Talks and discussions are continuing with trade union centers, where there is also great resistance to the planned course.

[Correspondent] In that connection our readers are interested in the following question: Comrade Jaruzelski clearly said that the party remains on Marxist-Leninist foundations and that the PZPR is the party of working people and, in the main, the working class. At the same time you in Poland are talking about a broad political pluralism. Our readers ask: Apart from the PZPR, your country has the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, and other social associations. In the present conditions can new political formations appear? And, of course, this implies the question: Will Solidarity not return to its demand to be not a trade union proper but, essentially, a political party?

[Urban] The Central Committee stated that the PZPR favors political pluralism. This will be followed by the publication of a number of legislative acts: specifically, a draft law on organizations, which will be the basis for the activity of various kinds of groups, unions, and clubs, adhering to positions of observance of and respect for the provisions of the Polish Constitution.

Our philosophy is this: We shall look at the practical results of this whole matter after these organizations become part of the state fabric and state structures, assume responsibility for the country acting in the form of the opposition, and enter parliament; and if it is possible to negotiate with them on the most important and principled questions, they will be able to switch to more vigorous positions in the sphere of political activity—something akin to a party. In other words, this is a philosophy based on the principle that everything should proceed gradually, be decided by agreement and not conflict, and be verified in life and practice—and that only then should the next step be taken.

At the same time we set the boundaries which must not be overstepped, and we simply will not hold a dialogue with those who do try to overstep them. These boundaries are determined by the following parameters: the alliance with the USSR, and Poland's indissoluble link with the socialist community. This is a recognition of the priority of the socialized ownership of the means of production and the vanguard role of the PZPR, which will change [kotoraya budet izmenyatsya].

[Correspondent] In this connection we wanted to touch on another aspect of the question. There is the policy of pluralism and the freedom of discussion. But there is also the law, the citizen's duty to the motherland, patriotic duty, and so forth. How do you see this combination: pluralism and the law, discussion and discipline, and civic responsibility?

[Urban] Our position on this question, strange as it may seem, coincides with Walesa's present position: The law must be observed both by the representatives of the authorities and by citizens. After the discussions and the practical implementation of political pluralism the laws may change, but they must not be broken on any count. That is important for us, too.

[Correspondent] But how did Solidarity receive the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum decisions? Have there been positive changes?

[Urban] There was approval. That is, in the sense that they have now gotten what they wanted. On the basis of what has been achieved it is necessary to come to the negotiating table and hold a dialogue with them. We view their demands as the departure point for achieving the main agreement. When we talk about Solidarity we primarily mean L. Walesa and his group, because there is another grouping within Solidarity which opposes Walesa and with which we will not hold talks.

[Correspondent] At most of your news conferences journalists often ask you about Walesa and to comment about some action or statement of his. How would you characterize Walesa today?

[Urban] The Lech Walesa of today is a different kettle of fish although, of course, we cannot read his mind so cannot say with certainty what he is actually thinking. But in politics what counts is what is said and done. In that sense we regard his actions as being aimed at achieving agreement.

[Correspondent] But what about the man? Not all our readers know what kind of man Walesa is.

[Urban] I am not a close acquaintance of Walesa. We only met once for an hour, we talked and drank tea, but there is no doubt that he has now grown up as a politician and has become more flexible in both his actions and words. In all respects it is clear that he has revised his position on the basis of the experience and practice of 1981 and martial law. He has ceased to underestimate our strength. Outwardly he is a likable man who makes contact with other people easily. He is exactly the kind of leader, that is the kind of man, who can stand in front of a large group of people and arouse them, win them over, convince them, and take them along with him. Well, of course, he is not an individual of unusual scale, a leader whose mode of thought or action could change the destiny of the country or the world. But whatever else, he is not the kind of man who can be treated with contempt, and we did make that mistake, myself included.

[Correspondent] Which of Poland's domestic problems would you highlight as the main one today?

[Urban] The most important one is the economic problem. We have made and are making radical changes in our economy, but it takes time for the positive effects of our actions to appear. It also takes time for the West to decide to establish normal economic relations with us, but society will not give us that time because we have already appealed to it on a number of occasions, saying: just a bit longer, a bit more, and everything will stabilize again, everything will be normal. But it did not work out normally. We are now virtually racing against time. Today we need time more than we need dollars because we are afraid that we will not have time to achieve what we planned before society loses patience and rejects us.

For the economic reforms to achieve positive results more quickly they need greater radicalism and consistency, but society does not accept that. Society does not accept the consequences which inevitably follow from the process of implementing radical steps. Now many enterprises are putting forward wage rise demands with the threat of strikes, and if we yield we will of course be helping to fuel inflation and consequently will create even greater discontent among the population. That is our dilemma. If we do not cope with or slow the inflationary processes, and if we do not fill the shelves in the stores, no one will be interested in our roundtable, our talks with the opposition. Just like before the war, for example, when the League of Nations held sessions in which no one was interested.

[Correspondent] It is common knowledge that Poland's debt to the West used to be large. What is its foreign debt now, and what is the attitude of its creditors?

[Urban] At the beginning of the seventies our debts totaled $47 billion. We have now repaid $50 billion—the interest on that debt mounted up so much. The remaining debt was $38 billion—that is our debt today. We are currently holding talks with the Paris Club and with members of that club on a bilateral basis. We hope that the Paris Club will agree to divide our debt into sections and defer the payment on those sections, and that we will eventually be able to use IMF credits.

If we manage to create market conditions favorable to us, that will enable us to increase our export production. Then, of course, our opportunities to repay our debts will increase, as will our imports for the needs of our domestic market and the development of economic sectors. Our negotiating partners do not hide the fact that political barriers are the main factor in this. Some of them are promising to review their attitude toward us. Everything will depend on the progress of East-West dialogue and the kind of forces that prevail in the West, whether it is those forces which believe that the processes of change taking place in the socialist countries now can be supported by economic means or those which continue to advocate economic pressure on the socialist countries so as to make their position even more complex. Therefore, M.S. Gorbachev's policy is vitally important for us, not just because it concerns the prevention of war but also because it is a question of whether we will be able to count on assistance in overcoming our economic difficulties.

[Correspondent] In Poland now they are discussing questions of reinforcing the positions of local councils and organs of self-management. How do you view this?

[Urban] This process is constantly developing and progressing. We are giving it an economic basis. The issue concerns the law on municipal services, under which people's councils at local levels will have their own material and technical base to make them independent of the central administration. The second problem is to activate these local subunits, that is, to mobilize them to make more effective use of the rights and legal foundation which they already possess and to step up the activity of local self-management. The course of political pluralism, we think, will ensure the activation of this process.

[Correspondent] Now a few words about the Sejm. What are the new principles on which it will be elected? Have there been any preliminary drafts?

[Urban] We shall discuss all these problems during the roundtable meeting. We want to reach an agreement under which the constructive part of the opposition will play a significant role in the Sejm's work. The party is ready to surrender some of the seats it now holds.

[Correspondent] That means that the PZPR will not have an absolute majority in the Sejm?

[Urban] It will not. The majority would be formed by the PZPR plus the two alliance parties—the United Peasants Party and the Democratic Party. This is an important change and an innovation which would result in the PZPR no longer being able to carry out its decisions single-handedly, and there would need to be a certain coordination and talks both with the alliance parties and with the opposition on those questions which affect them.

At the same time we are proposing and, in the section on elections, want to achieve a provision which would state, on the one hand, that the allocation of seats would be uniform and equal for all participants and society's different social groups, and which would guarantee, on the other hand, the free choice of specific candidacies. There are plans for the creation of a second chamber in the Sejm, where we expect to achieve an even greater balance of the various political forces.

This is the kind of concept under which the opposition would take a real part in the work of the Sejm and would assume part of the responsibility for the state of affairs in the country. The work would be conducted on the principle of agreements and talks among all political forces. We are convinced that this would enhance parliament's role in state decisionmaking.

[Correspondent] But all this would be on the basis of socialism?

[Urban] Yes, of course, on socialist principles. Furthermore, we plan to create another institution in the country which would serve as guarantor of the socialist character of the changes taking place in Poland. That is a president with great prerogative powers.

[Correspondent] As is well known, Poland is a Catholic country. Our readers often ask: What are the state's relations with the church like, and how do those relations fit into the process of renewal?

[Urban] The church is a force in our country: More than 90 percent of the people in Poland consider themselves Catholics. The reality, of course, is somewhat different, because not all of them are practicing Catholics. The strength of the church is determined by many factors, in particular the fact that at one time in the past we tried to act against the church and this probably helped to strengthen it. Our principles in the sphere of mutual relations with the church are as follows: the separation of church and state, the achievement of accords with the church on the most important state questions, and the conducting of ideological discussions and disputes with the church, because we do not intend to draw a veil over the ideological differences.

The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum raised the problem of believers in the party. For a long time we pretended that this problem did not exist. The view now is that the attitude toward religion is a personal and private matter for the party member. Belief in God is not an obstacle to entry into the PZPR. But at the same time party membership is incompatible with political clericalism.

[Correspondent] Which international problem would you call the main one? How is Poland taking part in resolving these problems?

[Urban] The success of the policy of detente and disarmament, in other words, those common causes for which we are all striving. In this area, too, there are no separate Polish interests. As for the specifics of Poland's external problems, I would have to name the problem of overcoming Poland's still marked isolation in the international arena, the normalization and restoration of relations with the West, the strengthening of international positions, and the establishment of economic contacts with Western countries. I am consciously not talking about Polish-Soviet relations, because there are no problems there of the kind we find in relations with the West.

[Correspondent] In recent years Polish-Soviet cooperation has developed intensively. New forms of cooperation have achieved general recognition: direct ties, joint enterprises, and border trade. How do you view the current level here?

[Urban] I think that these relations are becoming deeper and less bureaucratic. They are real, effective, and genuine. I think the new thinking typifies our relations today. We are departing from the idea that the things which distinguished our countries were presented as somehow negative. Poland, typically, has a very great interest in everything being done in the Soviet Union. There is much in common in these processes of change taking place in our countries. We realize that a certain era of socialism has ended. We are participating jointly in a voyage into the unknown, in the same direction but on different ships.

[Correspondent] Are you an optimist by nature?

[Urban] A moderate optimist.

[Correspondent] Give us your prediction: What will Poland be like 1 year from now?

[Urban] I think that we will be more successful in our political experiments and have great economic difficulties. If we succeed in considerably slowing inflation and filling the shelves in the stores with goods, I will be not a moderate but an unqualified optimist.

Romanian Paper Cited on Treaty Anniversary

PM0702143589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Foundation of Cooperation"]

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Dec—SCINTEIA, the RCP Central Committee organ, emphasizes the special significance of the Soviet-Romanian Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance for the successful development of relations between the two fraternal socialist countries in an article devoted to the 41st anniversary of the signing of that document.

The treaty enshrined the traditional friendly relations between the two peoples, who have cooperated on a number of occasions in the struggle for freedom and progress, the article notes. Since the establishment of people's power the development of bilateral relations of friendship and cooperation has been elevated to the rank of state policy in Romania. It is that historic achievement which was reflected in the treaty.

West Europe

Shevardnadze Addresses West Europe Envoys

PM0802144589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "New Quality of Dialogue"]

[Text] A meeting took place 7 February between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and the heads of the diplomatic missions of 12 countries of the European

Community accredited in Moscow. The following ambassadors attended the meeting and dinner held in this connection: R.A. Thorning-Petersen, Denmark; S. de Sacadura-Cabral, Portugal; S. Romano, Italy; I. Pagniez, France; P. Buwalda, Netherlands; J. Cuenca, Spain; L. Putman, Belgium; A. Meyer-Landrut, FRG; C.V. Whelan, Ireland; J. Wuert, Luxembourg; and charges d'affaires ad interim of Greece and Britain A. Sandis and N. Marshall.

The meeting between the USSR foreign minister and the ambassadors of the countries in the European Community represented a lively form of relations and a new stage in political dialogue between the USSR and the European Community, opening up possibilities of broadening fruitful cooperation between them following the establishment of official relations in the summer of 1988.

M.S. Gorbachev sent the ambassadors from the 12 European Community countries good wishes for success in their activity to develop cooperation between the two parts of Europe in all areas: political, trade and economic, scientific, ecological, and humanitarian. M.S. Gorbachev stressed the significance of the first meeting in Moscow between the USSR foreign minister and the ambassadors from the European Community countries and expressed confidence that dialogue between the USSR and the European Community would serve the broad interests of inculcating the new thinking and the interests of Europe as a whole and of international mutual understanding.

The ambassadors thanked M.S. Gorbachev warmly for his good wishes.

Addressing the ambassadors, E.A. Shevardnadze stressed that the need to establish official relations between the USSR and the European Community and between CEMA and the EEC has been brewing for a long time. We are starting to do something today that we should have done yesterday. We all need to act resolutely, take broad strides, and escape from the burden of the past in order to repair our omissions. Although integration in East and West Europe is based in many respects on economic processes, we all feel that the key to rapprochement today lies in imparting dynamism to political dialogue between the USSR and its European allies and the European Community.

The topics of our political dialogue are wide-ranging. They are the implementation of the Vienna accords and the deepening of the Helsinki process in all its parameters—military-political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian.

They include collective thoughts on prospects for the continent's participation in the life of the world community , on effective participation in resolving global problems such as poverty and ecological degradation, and participation in healing the bleeding wounds of regional conflicts. There are indeed no questions that should lie outside Europe's interests.

Implementation of the idea of a meeting between the leaders of the European states, the United States, and Canada is assuming particular significance in the matter of further strengthening trust, security, and cooperation in Europe. It is time to begin to study it jointly.

Tremendous work lies ahead of us. It will not always be easy, but its aims are supremely noble and beneficial: to unite the peoples of Europe and all countries involved in the all-European process of affirming moral and legal principles common to all and building a nuclear-free and nonviolent world.

On behalf of the heads of the European Community countries' diplomatic missions, Spanish Ambassador J. Cuenca (Spain chairs EEC organs in the first half of 1989) stated that this meeting constituted a new phase in the process of rapprochement and dialogue between the European Community and the Soviet Union. The efforts of the Community's member states are geared not only to economic and social development but also to settling conflicts, reducing tension in various regions, and establishing lasting peace, trust, and solidarity. We are living in a time of hope, when manifestations of a will for dialogue and a new climate in international relations are of particular value. This enables us, the ambassador pointed out, to look optimistically toward the future.

In the course of the meeting a thorough and businesslike exchange of opinions took place on a broad range of questions of general interest and, in particular, on the further development of contacts between the USSR and the European Community and the forms, agenda, and substance of political dialogue. The tremendous significance of cooperation between the USSR and the European Community for overcoming the division in the continent, advancing the Helsinki process, and promoting the resolution of global and regional problems was pointed out.

European Parliamentarians Visit Lithuania

LD0702223989 Moscow TASS in English 2222 GMT Feb 89

[Text] Vilnius February 8 TASS—A group of European Parliament deputies ended their two-day visit to Lithuania yesterday. Parliamentarians are members of a Baltic intergroup set up at the European Parliament.

At the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, the guests exchanged opinions with deputies of the Lithuanian parliament on the process of society's renewal which is under way in Lithuania, as well as all over the USSR. The meeting was attended by Vitautas Astrauskas, president of the Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet. Deputies to the European Parliament also met representatives of the mass organisation of the Lithuanian movement for perestroika, the Catholic Church, cooperatives and several members of the radical informal "Lithuanian Freedom League". Hans-Joachim Seeler (FRG), the head of the Baltic intergroup, told a press conference that the group set the task of studying processes taking place in the Soviet Baltic republics. The trip is of strictly fact-finding nature and does not include any talks.

According to the guests, they were pleasantly surprised at frankness with which Lithuanian parliamentarians spoke with them about their vital problems: strengthening of Lithuania's sovereignty and restructuring of the economy. Hans-Joachim Seeler said that European parliamentarians were for discussions and talks strengthening security of European nations and human rights. Progress should be made patiently, step by step, he added.

During the visit "The Lithuanian Freedom League" put up pickets and held a rally in one of the city's squares. Speakers at the rally expressed dissatisfaction in a vitriolic manner that the Baltic intergroup was conducting talks with Soviet officials.

On the same day the guest departed for Riga, the Latvian capital.

Lukyanov Receives New Luxembourg Envoy

LD0202175789 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—The ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Hubert Wuert, presented in the Kremlin today his credentials to first Vice-President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Anatoliy Lukyanov.

The ambassador said that he was starting to perform his duties at a crucial period in European development.

The positive results of the Vienna meeting should make it possible to begin a new stage in the all-European process, above all by way of keeping conventional armed forces at the lowest possible levels in conditions of a more reliable equilibrium.

In observing political and legal reforms carried out in the Soviet Union, the ambassador said that he would seek to reflect objectively new realities in the Soviet Union and use available opportunities for deepening bilateral cooperation.

Lukyanov informed the ambassador about the restructuring of all spheres of life of Soviet society and the implementation of the political reform.

He remarked that within the framework of East-West relations, each European nation could play an active part. In view of the successful completion of the Vienna meeting, additional favourable prospects are being opened for that.

The ambassador's attention was drawn to the initiatives advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations. He pointed out that it now was especially important to achieve a breakthrough in the field of conventional armaments, conclude a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons and make further progress in the sphere of nuclear disarmament, which is impossible without concerted efforts by all members of the international community.

Expressing satisfaction with the present state of Soviet-Luxembourg relations, that are long-standing and are characterised by the atmosphere of goodwill, the sides came out in favour of the further development of the political dialogue between the USSR and Luxembourg and the invigoration of trade and economic relations.

Italy Marks 65 Years of Relations With USSR

LD0702190189 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Rome February 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Teterin:

Today is 65 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Italy. These relations have seen their ups and downs, but the sincere friendship between Soviet and Italian peoples remained invariable.

"Italy should have become the first Western power to recognize the Land of Soviets. However, Britain outstripped it: All of a sudden it took this step on February 1 of the same year under the pressure exerted by the left wing of the Labour Party. Italy was the second to do it. The decision to recognize the Soviet Union was maturing for a long time, and Italy was ready to make it and to conclude complicated talks, thus translating this decision into concrete actions. Italy attached much importance to relations with the Soviet Union. They were established on a top level, on the level of ambassadors", Giovanni Spadolini, president of the Senate of Italian Parliament, told TASS.

"Sixty five years have passed since that memorable day. During this period both the Soviet Union and Italy have lived through profound transformations. Today, on the day of this anniversary, I should like to point to one of the aspects of Soviet-Italian relations which, in my opinion, is of priority importance: Our two countries put aside the fact that they belong to different ideological systems, overcame complicated historic developments of this country and set themselves a common goal—expansion and further development of trade and economic cooperation. We should confidently advance along this path. This aspect continues to be topical, because economic relations promote detente and the strengthening of peace", Spadolini said in conclusion.

Soviet-Italian economic relations are developing on the basis of vast experience accumulated by the two countries in the solution of international problems and cooperation in a political sphere. This cooperation is based on a protocol on consultations signed by heads of government of the two countries in October 1972, as well as of a joint Soviet-Italian declaration of 1975 and a number of other documents. The stands of the USSR and Italy coincided on more than one occasion on a number of important aspects of the disarmament problem. For example, both countries are co-authors of the convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques.

At present Italy firmly holds the third place among developed capitalist countries by the volume of trade turnover with the Soviet Union. It was one of the first to start creating joint enterprises. Some of them are actively functioning already.

Talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ciriaco de Mita held in Moscow last October gave a strong impetus to the development of Soviet-Italian relations in all the spheres and raised them to a higher level.

Italy is positive that its cooperation with the Soviet Union meets the interests of both countries and promotes the deepening of international detente, especially in the setting of the INF Treaty which directly concerns Italy and the cause of peace in the European Continent.

Greek Communists Urge Left-Wing Pact

*PM0902102589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "For the Unity of Left-Wing Forces"]

[Text] Athens, 5 Feb—The Greek Communist Party [KKE] Central Committee has held a plenum here to discuss the political situation in the country and the tasks facing the party. A statement published by the KKE today notes that the overwhelming majority of party members and supporters approve the KKE's political course and initiatives and its efforts to create a bloc of left-wing and progressive forces.

The document sharply criticizes the policy of the present Greek Government. The Cabinet and the ruling Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), the statement points out, are using antidemocratic methods, and this is exacerbating the political crisis in the country. In these conditions the Communist Party believes that the only reliable force which could strengthen the front against the bourgeois New Democracy party and right-wing policy is a coalition of left-wing forces.

U.S.-Greek Dialogue on Bases Continues

*NC0802185089 Moscow in Greek to Greece
1730 GMT 8 Feb 89*

[Unattributed commentary from the "Events and Views" program]

[Text] Everything indicates that the new round of Greek-U.S. talks will allow newsmen to exercise their right to make the most varied predictions, as the fate of the U.S. military installations on Greek territory remains unclear. We can suppose that so far Athens has not managed to achieve a revision of the Greek-U.S. accord on this problem under conditions which meet the supreme Greek interests. We can also establish that the Pentagon, for the time being, does not plan to speed up the 17-month time frame for removing its bases from Greece, and the continuing talks provide appropriate justification for this.

We have already given the true facts needed by political observers to evaluate the situation surrounding the Athens talks. It appears, however, that in the near future another factor may appear: According to agency reports, the new U.S. Administration plans to speed up the solution of the U.S. bases problem on Greek territory.

U.S. Secretary of State Baker is due in Athens next week, and his primary goal will be to discuss the progress of the Greek-U.S. talks. Past experience of such visits permits us to suppose that the Greek leaders will be forced to provide explanations to the White House representative, who, as many newspapers believe, will try to get Athens' consent to a continued U.S. military presence in Greece.

We would like to say that in its relations with Athens, the U.S. Government has often used methods that the Greek leaders have described as unacceptable. We mean raw force and economic blackmail, which Washington is trying to use to force the Papandreou government to give up its promises to dismantle the U.S. military bases in Greece.

Who can guarantee that the United States will abandon this policy toward its NATO ally? Will the Americans be able to maintain their presence in Greece? For the time being, there are no answers to these questions, and Greek-U.S. dialogue on the bases continues.

Latin America & Caribbean

Castro on OAS, Hopes for Bush Administration

*PM0602105789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 5 Feb 89 First Edition p 1*

[TASS report under the rubric "From Abroad": "F. Castro's Statement"]

[Text] Caracas, 4 Feb—Cuba is prepared to actively cooperate with the countries of Latin America in resolving topical regional problems, and it may rejoin the OAS if Latin American countries so desire. Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and president of the Republic's Councils of State and Ministers, stated this here in an interview with a group of local journalists.

The Cuban leader expressed hope that the new U.S. Administration would react with understanding to the difficulties of its Latin American neighbors, which are suffering from a foreign debt of more than $400 billion along with a simultaneous reduction in income from exports over the last few years. The socioeconomic crisis in most countries has become so exacerbated that Latin America has become a kind of powder keg. U.S. President G. Bush, who seems to have a more realistic approach to assessing problems, the Cuban leader indicated, should take this into account.

F. Castro believes that the tense situation in Central America is one of the most important problems on the continent. This has been brought about by the fact that the United States emphasizes force, refusing to acknowledge that the most reasonable means of resolving the Central American crisis is via talks involving all Latin American countries.

Aftermath of Paraguay Coup Considered

PM0702162989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent S. Svistunov under the rubric "Reporting Details": "Departure of 'Tyrannosaurus'; Will Stroessner's Overthrow Be the Beginning of Changes in Paraguayans' Lives?"]

[Excerpt] Brasilia, 6 Feb—[Passage omitted] What made Paraguayan General Rodriguez interrupt the deceptive calm of the machinery of total obedience, well-tuned by repressions and making large amounts of money? Was it only the ambition of a 64-year-old general, tired of waiting for the demise of the 76-year-old "boss?"

The winds of democratic change gathering strength on the South American Continent caused ripples of alarm even in a political "swamp" like Paraguay, as it slumbered in the embrace of the prolonged "autumn of the patriarch." The military regimes have had to leave the political stage in Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. Pinochet started to sway and then, after the recent nationwide referendum, he tilted dangerously. The Paraguayan patriots also came to life and stepped up the struggle. Peasant demonstrations, student riots, and meetings of the indignant intelligentsia began to break out increasingly frequently in the country. The opposition, which was no longer afraid to voice its protest, strengthened and grew.

In these conditions the ruling clique, which had a premonition of the inevitable crash, also began to stir, looking feverishly for ways to escape. In recent years it could quite clearly be divided into two basic lines: the "diehards," who stubbornly grouped around Stroessner and believed that they must go with him to the end, and the "rebels," who supported "Stroessnerism" equally zealously but believed that the country could at the same time do without Stroessner himself. But this man, allowing his passions to boil over and exposing not only open but secret renegades, organized an exemplary "purge" of them at the conference of the ruling "Colorado" Party at the end of 1987, after which the farce of presidential elections was performed again, seemingly consolidating his power as dictator.

The increasing unrest, however, raised doubts in Stroessner's mind about the "diehard" nature and devotion of his old campaigner, friend, and relation (Rodriguez' daughter married a member of the Stroessner family), who had a dangerously strong position at the very top of the military hierarchy's pyramid. At first the dictator started at a leisurely pace, and then increasingly openly, to put pressure on General Rodriguez, trying to persuade him to retire "in the state's best interests."

... In spite of the shakiness of their hopes, the Paraguayans want to believe in changes for the better. They have languished too long under the yoke of the perfidious sovereign to immediately stop believing that there will be changes in the near future. For this reason thousands of people poured out spontaneously into the streets of cities and villages, dancing and singing, waving state flags, and celebrating Stroessner's downfall. The opposition in the person of Domingo Laino—the leader of the largest party coalition opposing Stroessner—expressed cautious support for the new regime.

"To all appearances, nothing has changed in Paraguay," one of Brazil's television commentators stated. "But if I am mistaken, it will be a pleasant surprise."

Delegation Returns From Venezuela Inauguration

PM0802103989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A USSR delegation headed by T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, returned to Moscow from Venezuela on 6 February. It had been taking part in events marking the inauguration of the new head of state.

The delegation was greeted at the airport by V.V. Tereshkova, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; N.F. Rubtsov, chief of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretariat; and other officials.

The welcoming party included Eduardo Soto Alvarez, Venezuelan ambassador to the USSR.

Guerrillas Attack U.S. Convoy in Honduras

LD0502113889 Moscow TASS in English 1119 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Managua February 5 TASS—An armed guerrilla organisation, calling itself the Morazan Patriotic Front, is active in the country, according to reports coming from Honduras. It became known that the rebels attacked in northern Yoro Department last Thursday a

U.S. military convoy with supplies of equipment and ammunition for U.S. and Honduran troops engaged in the joint manoeuvres on Honduran territory. As a result of the attack, the convoy had to return to the Pentagon base in Palmerolla, 75 km south of Tegucigalpa.

An official spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in the Honduran capital said the rebel attack caused no casualties. According to the Honduran Army, the guerrilla organisation does not have more than 100 men. But other sources estimate it to be much larger.

The fourth infantry battalion of the Honduran Army, supported by helicopters, is mopping up a vast territory in the north of the country with the aim of destroying rebel detachments. There has been no official confirmations of any armed clashes involving government troops and the guerrillas.

Earlier, the Morazan Patriotic Front said in a statement that the purpose of its armed struggle was to put an end to U.S. military presence in Honduras and to drive away the contras, who engage in terrorist acts against neighboring Nicaragua. In December last year one of the front's detachments set off a powerful blast in one of the offices of the American Secret Service in Tegucigalpa. Attacks by guerrillas on American troops were registered some time ago in Camayagua and Siguatepeque.

Political & Social

More on People's Deputies Election Campaigns

Central Electoral Commission's Work

PM0802162789 Moscow Pravda in Russian
7 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

[A. Murtazayev "Reportage from the Central Electoral Commission": "Presumption Of Justice"]

[Text] By the beginning of February the Central Electoral Commission on the USSR People's Deputy Elections had received 2,300 letters and telegrams, recorded over 500 visitors, and answered nearly 900 calls about the election campaign.

These figures are changing by the hour. During the time I was in room 237 two large bundles of telegrams were dumped on Nikolay Kikolayevich Kazakevich's desk, there was a constant stream of visitors, and N.A. Chitanava, Central Electoral Commission member and secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, who was on duty in reception, was constantly answering calls from Urmansk, Saratov, Cheboksary....

What lies behind the figures?

"Is the ispolkom apparatus a labor collective?" an astonished N. Chitanava repeats the question the caller has asked. "How can it be? Although... be so kind as to call back in 20 minutes or so."

A call to a lawyer, an impromptu conference, a debate, a search for the requisite documents—with everyone helping to gather the information. Ten minutes later reception is ready to provide an exhaustive answer.

Why so meticulous; why are so many people and so much energy diverted to answering one telephone call? The answer is simple: People will cite the opinion of the commission as the most authoritative source.

You get all manner of questions— from the naive: "Can you tell me when the elections are?" to the totally unpredictable. "For instance," Nodari Amvrosiyevich smiles, "yesterday there was a caller asking whether a candidate people's deputy had the right to vote at a candidate deputy nomination conference. No, he does not have the right, because he was not elected to the conference, but invited to attend it and, what is more, is an interested party."

The questions become daily more acute. The nomination of candidate deputies has ended and okrug election meetings are under way. And people are asking: Who can be a member of the presidium, who can be chairman of the meeting? It was an interest in the final result of the meeting that brought these questions to the surface. The commission's answer was always the same: It is all in your hands, it all depends on the voters themselves—the law firmly takes the stance of democracy and glasnost. The decision of the meeting can be appealed against to the okrug or Central Electoral Commission within three days.

But is the central commission capable of monitoring the execution of the law and ensuring that it is uniformly implemented throughout the USSR?

"Not a single telegram goes unanswered," N. Kazakevich said (incidentally, he is head of the group for the reception of citizens and examination of letters). "The work is heavily hampered by the fact that many people, whenever they have the slightest doubt, wire Oscow direct, bypassing local authorities and okrug electoral commissions. Yet the law clearly states that the Central Electoral Commission will 'examine applications and complaints against decisions and actions by electoral commissions and make final judgments on them.' We have to deal with this correspondence although it involves immense resources which are required for the solution of other, sometimes more important matters. But from experience of previous elections campaigns I would say that the present one is notable for people's deep interest in the outcome of the election. There are practically no personal requests, to mend a roof, for example, or heat a lobby, but there are many calls for support for one candidate or another. But it is not our brief to be sympathetic or antipathetic; we are merely the guarantor of observance of the Law on Elections."

"But what if a candidate deputy is a dishonest person or, worse still, as this telegram says, has compromised himself?"

"We are obliged to make it known to the electoral commission and to inform voters about it. Our group submits the most acute and problematic questions to the Central Electoral Commission session for its consideration. Every appeal against a decision or action by electoral commissions or local soviets is carefully checked and measures are adopted if there has been a breach of the law.

"I could cite a multitude of instances where immediate intervention has restored justice, stopped a breach of the Law on Elections, and given voters freedom of expression. But obviously it would be better to demonstrate this on the basis of telegrams to PRAVDA and, at the same time, to the Central Electoral Commission..."

N. Kazakevich immediately looks at the receipt date:

"The telegrams arrived five days ago.... That is a long time. The election campaign has a short life, so we try to react without delay. Particularly important letters arrive in a matter of hours at local organs for the adoption of immediate measures."

A call for help: "Okrug 406 has been put at a disadvantage. Please send your representative right away. M.I. Romanenko, Vinnitsa."

We quickly find Romanenko's telegram in the file. Attached to it is the following information. "M.I. Romanenko, Vinnitsa Oblast Agroprom specialist. Got local soviet and economic organs to agree to nominate him at a meeting of the collective of the 'Pershe Travnya' sovkhoz. The meeting took place back on 26 December 1988. The minutes were drawn up in the old way and indicated that the meeting was attended by 687 people, whereas there are only 313 seats in the Culture Center hall. But the okrug committee established that more than one-half of the labor collective was present at the meeting, so the minutes were accepted. Four candidates were nominated for the okrug, so it was decided to hold an okrug election meeting. The communication came from Comrade Darshenko at Vinnitsa Oblispolkom."

So the okrug commission accepted the protocol and Romanenko, as candidate deputy, was invited to the okrug election meeting. But what brought about the second communication? We called Vinnitsa. Apparently, Romanenko had made yet another attempt to get himself nominated, in a different labor collective, but only 60 of the 420 people went to the meeting. The other candidate deputies had been nominated by several labor collectives, which, naturally, worried Romanenko. Hence the "disadvantage."

"He loses heart too quickly," was N. Kazakevich's comment on the situation. "He has a chance to speak at the okrug election meeting and try to persuade the voters. That is what the election struggle is all about...."

"Existing legislation does not rule out the possibility of holding an election even with only one candidate from the okrug. It is not a loophole, but a yawning gap enabling the apparatus to get its own people in. In fact, in the past, more than one candidate has been nominated, but all the "unwanted" people were weeded out at okrug meetings. Is the Central Electoral Commission able and does it wish to counteract this somehow? A. Blagoveshchenskiy, Oktyabrskiy, Bashkir ASSR."

There are many letters like this. For example, the editorial office received a telegram to the effect that the inhabitants of the village of Kanizar, Bagdadsky Rayon, Fergana Oblast, wanted to hold a meeting to nominate a candidate people's deputy, but the request was turned down. The okrug electoral commission's explanation was that only one candidate would run in that okrug—the first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee. B. Vishnevskiy was instructed to look into the matter.

"What did you do?"

I telephoned the republic's supreme soviet presidium and asked them to check the facts and, if they were correct, adopt the requisite measures."

...The routine session of the Central Electoral Commission stressed the need to pay more attention to examining voters' communications and reacting promptly to applications and complaints. But the whole work of the Central Electoral Commission and its effectiveness largely depend on the activity of local electoral commissions, which are obliged to resolve attentively and punctiliously the questions that occur to voters.

Moiseyev Presents Platform

LD0802214189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Colonel General Moiseyev, chief of of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, first deputy USSR defense minister, who is a USSR people's deputy candidate nominated by the CPSU, has met in Moscow with Communists. The overall political side of my election platform, stressed the deputy candidate, is defined wholly and totally by the program formulations in the CPSU Central Committee's Address to the party and Soviet people, and by the fulfilment of immediate and long-term social, political and defense tasks according to their close interconnection. Unfortunately, the stagnation phenomena did not pass our Army and Navy by. They are having an effect on many questions of the construction and preparation of the troops and naval forces, and are displayed in the serious deficiencies which have not been overcome over a lengthy period. Thus, a great amount of work lies ahead. It is necessary to seek real, visible results.

The speaker went on to note that until recently there was a principle operating in our country that said one can make economies in everything but not in defense. Indeed, questions of defense, especially in the nuclear missile era, are vitally important. Therefore, the party and government are making every effort for Army and Navy servicemen to be provided with all that is needed. But that in no way exempts us from the need to utilize sparingly the resources which are allocated to defense. In the next few years, the USSR's military budget will be cut by over 14 percent. Such a decision can be justified politically and strategically. In connection with the reduction in our armed forces, we will restructure them in accordance with the new tasks, giving them more of a defensive nature while not reducing combat readiness.

In conclusion, Colonel General Moiseyev promised that he will make every effort to justify the trust of the party and to fulfill the mandates of Communist voters.

NKAO Nominates Volskiy

LD0802125889 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] The people of Nagorno-Karabakh have nominated the chairman of the special rule committee, Arkadiy Volskiy, their candidate to the Congress of People's

Deputies. The election will be held next month. Volskiy will stand for the constituency, including Karabakh and other adjacent regions of Azerbaijan. He was nominated by dozens of voters' meetings. The committee he is heading is a special direct rule administration introduced temporarily to prevent any further ethnic strife in the region. Volskiy said in an interview that a plan of social and economic reforms has been prepared for Nagorno-Karabakh; R400 million—that is more than $600 million—have been allocated by the national budget for solving the areas social problems.

*Nominations in Stavropol

WA18000476 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by I. Guskov, chief of the correspondent's office of the State Radio for Northern Caucasus, Stavropol: "Could We Do Without Excesses"]

[Text] This is the first report about this kind of a meeting of voters that I have ever done...

The auditorium of the Stavropol Gagarin Palace of Culture is full to the brim. Our film crew makes its way to the stage with difficulty through the buzzing mass of people whose voices are boiling over and begins to set up the equipment. We ask why this hysterical rumble comes from the same rows. It turns out that a group of people is upset by the fact that the meeting is taking place here rather than at another location. Later, when I watch the videotape on the monitor, I would see those who were yelling again. I would learn who they were.... However, let us proceed chronologically.

Preliminary candidate people's deputies of the USSR from the 108th electoral okrug are discussed. The contenders outline their positions...

V. A. Tsalko, general director of the "Red Metal Worker" Production Association:

"Issues of industrial and agricultural economics should be the focal point of our attention. The output of consumer goods should be increased by changing the production lines of plants turning out products which are not in demand. I am in favor of vigorous social policies; I see the point of activities by a deputy in improving the welfare and working conditions of the working man and increasing the role of the labor collective. I think that the collective alone should manage the means of production, profits and their distribution. I believe special attention should be paid to solving the most acute problems in housing and the provision of foodstuffs. I support a reasonable development of cooperatives, but at the same time I am in favor of reinforcing the supervision of price setting..."

A reasonable program, isn't it?

There is yelling and whistling in the audience, in these same rows, however; the rumble arises all over the auditorium as well: "Enough! Learn how to listen, behave yourselves!"

Journalist V. A. Krasulya:

"Our foremost goal is to create the rule-of-law state governed by the people themselves. This is impossible without codifying in law the political, social and other rights of persons which guarantee the support and protection of involvement by creative, diligent, constructive and independently thinking citizens from bureaucratism, stagnation, dogmatism, without expanding and enhancing democracy, glasnost and social pluralism...

"In the sphere of economics, all enterprises should be leased to their collectives! No direct interference in their operations by 'the directing agencies.' All means of production and resources should go to the market! Land should be leased and indefinite use of it should be given to cooperative workers and individual citizens with the right to bequeath it!.."

Supporters of the first candidate take the floor.

V. T. Pogorelova, painter:

"Everything that V. Krasulya has said consists of generalities, we have heard it before. He has no specific program. This is why I am in favor of the candidacy of Tsalko."

A. V. Lipchanskaya, instructor at the agricultural institute:

"A deputy should resolve issues of stste policy, and sausage is not an issue. I am in favor of Krasulya."

N. M. Rokbayeva, worker at the "Stavropolproyektstroy" Association:

"The platform of 'fine words' without specific actions does not suit me. I support Tsalko."

Noise, whistling, yelling and stomping of feet are heard from the rows where adherents of V. Krasulya are seated. They are the most violent when the results of voting are tallied. The platform of V. Tsalko was supported by 627 perons, and that of his opponent—by 110 persons. I am already familiar with those who took the floor. Instructor of the Pedagogical Institute Taisiya Petrovna Kaznacheyeva is surrounded by several people who call themselves the "action group for the founding of the 'People's Front'" in Stavropol. Several dozen young people, students who accounted for a majority of those voting for V. Krasulya, listen attentively to their mentor. A lady wearing a blue beret joins the conversation: "We should send a telegram to OGONEK immediately." She turns towards me: "Read KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA tomorrow. What will be there? You'll see!"—and she walks away, satisfied and smiling.

Three days later, there was another meeting at the place of residence [of the candidate] in the auditorium of the kray consumer cooperative. It had not even begun when Yuriy Nesis, yet another participant of the "action group," ran up to the rostrum:

"This meeting is not authorized to resolve the issue of nominating a candidate people's deputy. Why? Our group wants to hold the meeting at another location, and is not prepared to talk here."

The result of the vote was even more crushing for the candidate of the "action group." However, several persons appeared in front of one of the cinemas with a slogan mentioning a hunger strike and demanding that the leadership of the Stavropol Executive Committee be punished for... the group's failure to hold a meeting of its supporters in order to nominate their candidate.

Telegrams went to the newspapers: "Infringement of democratic rights, triumph of bureacracy"... "We continue the hunger strike..."

I called the strikers. Their answers were terse, cautious and evasive. I would have liked very much to figure out what course the authors of protests and telegrams aspired to pursue and in the name of what. For then, I had to approach Krasulya himself.

"There are many enough of us in the action group of the People's Front," he says, preferring not to say how many exactly. This is no secret, however—no more than 10 or 12 persons. They vigorously advertise their views.

"People have got to enter center stage. The demand for all active and involved citizens to unite in such a social body which would provide an opportunity for everyone to participate in the reform of economic and political structures is increasingly forcing itself onto the agenda." What kind of "unification" capable of achieving some extraordinary results as if by the movement of a magic wand is it? It is the People's Front.

People's... Democratic... How many times have these words been used to camouflage the lack of democracy, obvious hypocrisy, and the rampage of ambitious passions, how many times have they turned out to be something completely different from concern for the people?

I recall that as long as a decade or so ago I was struck by the abundance in local markets. The explanation turned out to be simple: even then, private plots of the kray produced two-thirds of the amount of meat supplied by the socialized sector. This was also the case with many other foodstuffs. These were the same private plots which were persecuted and pressured practically everywhere. Economic accountability, the word perceived as almost subversive not so long ago, lived on and was reinforced in a great share of local farms.

Therefore, in the Stavropol area, it is more difficult to exploit the discontent caused by shortcomings. Also, the sober-minded approach characteristic of the tillers of the land and their descendants calls for taking a closer look: who is the one promising us mountains of gold?

...A year ago, the recently published article by Deputy Editor Vasiliy Krasulya "We Were Born to Be Free" came up at a party meeting in the editorial office of STAVROPOLSKAYA PRAVDA. The article surprised many by its overly bold statements about democracy in general and beyond our boundaries, the ringing tone of its slogans and... a complete absence of facts from local history and contemporary practice. It was also surprising that the article was written by this very author. He was always quiet, did not like field assignments, and during his tenure at the local youth newspaper had cranked out a lot of material on our happy existence in the years of stagnation...

V. Krasulya took with him to the kray party newspaper his dislike for critical materials which would have necessitated confrontations with the powers that be. Having unexpectedly become the first deputy of the new editor-in-chief, he did not lose his customary character traits and did not change the style of his publications for several months. Suddenly, [he wrote] the article in question. Suggestions were made to call him to account for the mix of supposedly correct wording with suspect quotations given without attribution. This, however, put an end to these suggestions: what can be held against an article which was put together from statements by some central publications? V. Krasulya admitted openly that this was the case.

Approving articles began to appear in response in the pages of the kray newspaper...

One month later, at the next meeting, the surprise was expressed at the absence of materials by those who had not agreed with the publication by V. Krasulya and had expressed it quite unambiguously. Why had not they been brought out? The opinion of the collective of Communists was quite definite: if a discussion had begun, it should have been democratic, with everyone entitled to take the floor. After all, such publications by those who did not agree did come up. They drew an immediate thunderous cry. A journalist from a newspaper published in many languages thundered about the cruel fate of V. Krasulya who was supposedly beginning to be persecuted...

Almost at the same time T. Kolesnikova, secretary of the party committee at the Stavropol Medical Institute, criticized the article of V. Krasulya at a plenary meeting of the kray party committee. It so happens that as journalists we do not necessarily draw applause and ovations. V. Krasulya responded to the criticism by a lengthy letter in which he poured out his irritation.

Let us not quote the letter, these 14 typewritten pages of dissatisfaction with the country and the Russian people. Let us only note that he typed his letter on the letterhead of the editorial office and distributed it widely. The party bureau and the party organization of STAVROPOLSKAYA PRAVDA found that he was hardly fit to manage the collective. He regarded the offer to work in the party apparatus and get acquainted with its practices on the inside as a demotion.

A month later, V. Krasulya appeared in the capacity of leader of the "action group" and began to clamor for nomination as candidate people's deputy of the USSR.

The voters decided otherwise.

What happens next? At a recent meeting at the kray executive committee, one of the activists of the action group A. Lipchanskaya admitted: "Technically, pursuant to the law, the city executive committee was right in turning down [the request] for a meeting" which the group tried to set up. It tried in not very honest ways. "Signatures" of those who were not aware of this appeared on the lists accompanying petitions. Many last names were repeated not only in different lists, but even on different pages of the same list. They did not always explain to the voters why petitions for an election meeting were being collected. The pursuit of popularity, of votes which had turned the heads of many individuals went on. The city executive committee had not only the moral right but also legally granted powers to turn down the holding of this meeting. And yet...

We often say that we have got to learn about democracy. Are we really learning? Discussions in offices gave the members of the "action group" an opportunity to put their own interpretation on the arguments of those disagreeing with it, to distort the facts. Incidentally, one of the most vigorously writing and speaking "initiators," Yu. Nesis, was forced to leave the editorial office of STAVROPOLSKAYA PRAVDA after barely 3 months on the job, having been disciplined for "juggling facts," or, in simpler terms, for undeservedly defaming several employees of the medical institute on account of his personal resentment of them.

The facts are still being juggled. On the day the issue of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA desired by the "initiators" was published, leaflets appeared in the city—the newspaper was being consciously delayed; citizens, call the "Soyuzpechat" and demand to receive it! My colleague Oleg Shapovalov, correspondent for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, does not agree with this:

"The newspaper is printed in Mineralnyye Vody. On that day, there were urgent materials, and this is why it reached Stavropol late."

Be that is it may, they started the rumor in town...

They continue to do their thing. Increasingly often they intimidate those who disagree. They keep them up day and night by telephone calls. I also got a taste of this. Ye. Suslova, 27, called and warned me:

"If you publicize the interview given you by my mother and father and your conversation with my fellow employees, you will come to regret it..."

They act in keeping with their program which I have had an occasion to familiarize myself with here, in Stavropol: "Demonstration, meeting, pickets, collection of signatures, mailing letters to deputies, direct pressure on the deputies based on logic and arguments, including recalling them." The deputies are not the only ones subjected to pressure here. As can be seen, the logic and the arguments are quite peculiar.

Conclusions have been drawn from the last weeks and especially days in Stavropol. The council of social scientists has become involved in work on explaining the position and actions of the "action group." A "Political Club" is opening its doors for discussions; the truth will not be found through arguments like "I have not read it, but I approve it."

We should learn to speak to people openly and convincingly, and be capable of finding like-minded people and allies not only in the customary social structures. The flowers of democracy should not bear the fruit of division, tension and wickedness.

Candidates' Rights, Campaign Rules

PM0802120589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Candidate of Juridical Sciences Ye.M. Koveshnikov, chief of the Central Electoral Commission Juridical Group, by V. Dolganov, under the rubric "Elections of USSR People's Deputies": "Agitation Without Agitation Stations. What Rights Are Given to Candidates and Their Constituents in the Election Campaign"—no place or date of interview given; first two paragraphs are an introduction; last paragraph is an Editorial Office postscript]

[Text] At the next stage of the election campaign, every candidate USSR people's deputy will have to face a keen political struggle for victory in the elections. What are the rules governing this struggle? What are the candidates and their supporters allowed and not allowed to do? How should someone campaign for a candidate or, say, for himself?

These were the topics of our correspondent's conversation with Candidate of Juridical Sciences Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich Koveshnikov, chief of the Central Electoral Commission Juridical Group.

[Dolganov] This is the first time we are encountering the very idea of political struggle for election, the possibility of campaigning not "for election in general" but for specific candidates whom we trust. What is the best way to begin the agitation?

Ye. Koveshnikov: Probably with the duty of every officially registered candidate to set up his own "team," a group of agents. For the first time their number has been laid down by law: Not more than 10 persons. The candidate deputy himself is entitled to choose them at his own discretion, and he can also ask for help from his labor collective, the public organizations, or the voters. It is very important to emphasize that the law gives all labor collectives, voters at their places of residence, and public organizations the right to campaign for their candidates without hindrance. It is also permitted to campaign against "other people's" candidates. Moreover, the law gives everybody an absolutely equal right to speak at election campaign and other meetings, conferences, and sessions and to make press, radio, and television statements.

[Dolganov] This provision generates an especially large number of questions among our readers. Could you explain it in greater detail?

Ye. Koveshnikov: If, for example, a newspaper makes a certain amount of space available to one of the candidates, it then must make exactly the same amount available to the other candidate or to people campaigning against those candidates' programs. The same applies to radio and television. There must be equality in air time and in the timing of the broadcast of candidates' statements to prevent one of them speaking just before or just after the "Vremya" program while the other one is given a time slot when the bulk of voters are out at work.

[Dolganov] Do the mass media have sufficient time and space to satisfy all potential claims? After all, now there are more than one person contesting every deputy's mandate.

Ye. Koveshnikov: Time and space will probably not be sufficient if everyone were to claim the right to make a statement on Central Television or in the central press. On the other hand, nominations now follow a different procedure from before. Many public organizations have their own publications and can make space on their pages available to their candidates. Those who stand for election on okrug ballot papers have the local press—from in-house publications right up to republic newspapers. I think that it would be more expedient for a candidate to conduct his campaign not throughout the union but in the place where his constituents live and work. Direct contacts with them are quicker and more efficient, it is more convenient to win support at home. There is also a multitude of other methods—the law places no restrictions on the form of meetings between candidate deputies and their constituents, they can take the form which is most convenient for all concerned.

[Dolganov] Posters, leaflets, and slogans to vote for various candidates have already appeared on apartment block walls and gates and at public transport stops. Is there equality as regards the production of printed matter in support of someone representing the labor collective of, say, a major plant which has its own printing facilities or copying equipment, and someone nominated at his place of residence?

Ye. Koveshnikov: Yes. It is incumbent upon the okrug electoral commission to assist a candidate deputy nominated by the population. Moreover, any action group wishing to help him can use its own resources to prepare leaflets, slogans, and posters campaigning either for him or against his election rivals. We in the Central Electoral Commission have already received numerous phone calls reporting that labor collectives, cooperatives, public organizations, and voters' groups are setting up money collections to fund their election campaign. Such collections are not prohibited by law. As far as I know, people themselves are only too keen to make voluntary contributions when they want to see their candidate elected and his program victorious.

[Dolganov] In principle it is clear what a candidate's program ought to be. How about the means of campaigning against a candidate?

Ye. Koveshnikov: In both cases the requirements are identical. Neither a candidate's program nor any objections against him ought to contravene the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws. I think that, when campaigning against a candidate, there must be no digging up of his personal life or exploitation of any intimate details. It is, of course, totally impermissible to insult opponents. Generally speaking, the struggle must be waged within the framework of political debate, with each side bearing in mind the standards of such debate.

[Dolganov] Suppose I have had photographs of my candidate printed, adding captions which present him in a favorable light. What do I do next? How and where can such material be distributed?

Ye. Koveshnikov: Anywhere you like. At a trolleybus stop, at the entrance to the subway or a store, at a plant or organization, on streets and in squares... Leaflets and slogans can be handed out in person, they can be posted in public places, and this can be accompanied by verbal agitation in favor of the candidate deputy. Any form of agitation can be used provided this does not obstruct traffic or pose a threat to the safety and health of others. This stems from international acts and our own legislation.

[Dolganov] Nevertheless, a spontaneous rally may develop, a discussion of a candidate's merits and shortcomings. Cases like this are governed by the appropriate decree which makes provisions governing responsibility for unauthorized meetings, rallies, and demonstrations. What happens if permission from the local soviet has not been obtained in advance?

Ye. Koveshnikov: I want to emphasize in particular that the decree which you mentioned should not be applied in any circumstances in the election campaign, when it really is a question of preparation for elections. I am certain that no special permission is required. The law states bluntly: A candidate people's deputy can conduct meetings at rallies and in any other form convenient for the voters. In other words, a spontaneous rally can be held in a microrayon, near an apartment block, in a park or a small public garden.... You can argue, discuss, and campaign for your candidate in the way this is done in a civilized society. Just bear in mind the conditions we mentioned earlier: legality and safety.

I can understand how excited people are by the very opportunity to campaign in a new fashion. After all, we all are so fed up with the years and years of stereotype and almost always deserted agitation stations with their shimmering television sets, files of frayed newspapers, and agitators who are agitators in name alone. I personally am pleased that sociopolitical, debating, and other election campaign clubs are now coming into being. It is important to ensure that okrug electoral commissions, abandoning stereotypes, support their activity and create all necessary conditions for their work. It is probably more convenient to argue about nominated candidates and their programs in such clubs rather than in the street. They can show movie or videotape promotion clips, present original forms of visual agitation....

[Dolganov] People often ask us whether it is possible to campaign for candidacies which have yet to be examined at okrug election campaign meetings, selecting the best candidates to be listed on the future ballot papers.

Ye. Koveshnikov: Agitation is perfectly allowable even before okrug election campaign meeting. It can only be beneficial if people can meet potential candidates before the meeting and find out about their programs and themselves personally. Let us not forget: All of the election campaign work and struggle reflects our concern for the future USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the future permanently acting USSR Supreme Soviet. The greater the number of different opinions expressed and the more diverse and more effective the election campaign programs, the more reliable will be the people who get elected to the organs of supreme power. That means that they will elaborate more reliable decisions furthering restructuring and the interests of the whole people.

[Dolganov] While on the subject of meetings. When is an okrug election campaign meeting properly convened and what is the procedure for making decisions at it?

Ye. Koveshnikov: A meeting is properly convened if, by the time it opens, its attendance list has been signed by over 50 percent of representatives delegated by labor collectives, public organizations, and meetings of voters at places of residence or of servicemen at military units. Furthermore, at least one-half of them should be representatives of collectives which have not nominated their own candidate people's deputies. A decision by an okrug election campaign meeting is deemed adopted if more than one-half of those attending the meeting vote in favor. In order to confirm that the meeting was properly convened, there is something to be said for making a roll call of those attending prior to taking a vote. [end Koveshnikov]

FROM THE EDITORIAL OFFICE: The editorial office mailbag and phone calls received by IZVESTIYA testify that already arguments are being conducted and conflict situations are developing concerning the forms and methods of election campaign agitation at local level. They can be resolved in the most authoritative and best qualified fashion by the Central Electoral Commission Juridical Group. Let us remind readers of the group's telephone numbers, which are 292-77-91 and 292-47-46.

USSR Procuracy Collegium Meets on Restructuring

LD0802222389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] In the USSR Procuracy. The progress of implementing the decision of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the main guidelines for the work of the USSR Procuracy to restructure supervision by the Procuracy in conditions of the formation of a socialist law-governed state was discussed at an expanded meeting of the USSR Procuracy Collegium on 8 February. Procurators of republics, krays and oblasts and military and transport procurators took part in the collegium.

The report by USSR Procurator General Sukharev and other speeches noted that the thrust of supervision by the Procuracy is changing and priority is being given to the social sphere, the protection of citizens' rights and the new problems that have been highlighted by present-day political thinking. The actions of the Procuracy to protect the rights of internationalist soldiers, justice in housing allocation and measures to protect nature and the environment, have had considerable repercussions.

At the same time, the process of restructuring supervision by the Procuracy, as was stressed at the collegium meeting, has so far been proceeding with insufficient dynamism and its clear-cut thrust aimed at promoting a solution to the tasks facing society and the state is not being sustained everywhere. The main thing in supervision by the Procuracy today is to ensure effective supervision of the observance of legislation aimed at further intensifying radical economic reform, democratization and glasnost, strict implementation of legislation in the social sphere and the elimination of abuses in trade, consumer services and other spheres.

In this work, the full force of the Procuracy's powers must be applied, the elimination of obstacles to and restrictions on the implementation of the rights and freedoms of citizens proclaimed and guaranteed by the USSR Constitution must be resolutely demanded and striven for. An uncompromising struggle must be waged against stagnant and shady [tenevoy] phenomena. All attempts to employ economic and legal levers for narrow departmental, cliquish interests to the detriment of restructuring must be stopped, and manifestations of extremism and cases of malicious disregard for the legitimate demands of the organs of power must be rebuffed.

The task has been set of focusing attention on the key problems of strengthening legality and law and order, of consistently striving for justice in all spheres of public life, of erecting a reliable barrier against arbitrary rule, departmental parochialism, bureaucratism and everything that undermines the single nature of legality, and of developing a harmonious system of interaction with the soviets of people's deputies, the people's control committees, supervisory bodies and public groupings.

The collegium defined the long-term tasks of the continuing restructuring of supervision by the Procuracy and confirmed additional measures for 1989 in implementing the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference. Taking part in the proceedings of the collegium meeting were Pavlov, chief of the CPSU State and Law Department; Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and heads of law enforcement bodies.

Meeting Ends 8 Feb

LD0802173789 Moscow TASS in English 1718 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 8 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov:

The collegium of the USSR Prosecutor's office ended a two-day full-scale meeting in Moscow on Wednesday, at which it considered the reform of public prosecutors' supervision in the country.

Sergey Yemelyanov, prosecutor of the Russian Federation (the Soviet Union's biggest constituent republic), said at the meeting today that last year the republic's prosecution bodies annulled 38,000 legal acts which no longer met requirements of the times, often contradicted one another and held back economic development.

Public prosecutors' supervision in the Russian Federation, just as in other Soviet republics, is changing its orientation, Yemelyanov went on. Priorities are now given to the social sphere and the defence of civil rights. Last year, prosecution bodies in Russia restored the rights of more than 79,000 citizens.

More than 6,000 people, convicted in 1937-1940, were rehabilitated following protests from the prosecutor's office of the Russian Federation.

The meeting pointed to the need to increase the defence of enterprises' rights, give more attention to environmental protection, and improve the practice of public prosecutors' supervision over the observation of laws in the cooperative movement.

Yemelyanov said 40,000 cooperatives now operate in the Russian Federation. Last year, they produced products and services worth a total of 1.4 billion roubles.

The prosecutor said the cooperative movement is largely spontaneous. Cooperatives' rights are often violated, whereas many cooperatives themselves violate laws.

USSR prosecutor General Alekandr Sukharev said in the concluding speech that the reform of public prosecutors' supervision lacked dynamism.

The main task faced by prosecution bodies now is to achieve efficient supervision over the observation of laws aimed to deepen the radical economic reform, bring more democracy to Soviet society, and improve the situation in the social sphere.

Reinstitution of School History Exam Planned

LD0802193189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] The USSR State Committee for People's Education has adopted the decision to reinstitute the graduation examination on our history in the country's schools. In the form in which it is planned to carry it out, it means a test not so much of the sum of knowledge as of a pupil's overall standard, his ability for historical thinking and analysis of facts of the past. The content and form of the exams will be determined by the teaching collectives of educational establishments, drawing on model questions drafted by the State Committee for Education. These concern both the history of the state in the 20th century and the contemporary problems of its development.

Article Urges Economic, Political Pluralism

PM0802154989 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 29 Jan 89 p 2

[Ye. Proshechkin article under the "Problems and Pinions" rubric: "On State Ownership and Pluralism"]

[Text] State ownership of the means of production is a great gain for the Soviet people! This postulate from the "Short Course [of the History] of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)" was accepted by us a long time ago as an axiomatic term giving rise to no doubts. Nonetheless, I will take the liberty of expressing a few doubts.

First, state ownership is by no means a "gain for socialism." It existed in Ancient Egypt, in Ancient China, and in Ancient Rome. Even F. Engels wrote in "Anti-Duehring" "Ever since Bismarck rushed along the path of statism, there has been a special kind of bogus socialism, taking in places the original form of voluntary servility, and bluntly proclaiming that every statism, even Bismarck-style statism, is socialist. If a state tobacco monopoly is socialism, then Napoleon must certainly be listed among the founders of socialism" (Vol 20, p 289).

Ever since Lenin's time and to this very day, a struggle against bureaucratism has been waged in the country but so far—let's be blunt—without any particular success. What is happening, what is the reason for bureaucratism's tenacity of life? What provides its economic basis? The answer to this question is to be found with the classics of Marxism. In his work "Toward a Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law," K. Marx remarked that a bureaucrat perceives state property as his own property and considers it the source of his prosperity and of the immutability of his situation. In other words, the struggle against bureaucratism is a pointless occupation as long as state ownership in the country occupies such a colossal position in social production. The supercentralization of economic management is an ideal breeding ground for the flourishing of bureaucracy.

Can we also brush aside the law-governed phenomenon whereby, in countries where state ownership is excessively predominant and commodity-money relations are not developed, democracy is curtailed, dictatorship is swiftly established, and human rights are not worth anything? This has actually happened in countries totally different from one another in terms of degree of development, specific national and cultural features, size, religion, and so on. Such trends can be traced, to a greater or lesser extent, from the Mongol-Tatar Golden Horde to Bokassa's Central African Empire, from Russia to Pol Pot's Cambodia, from Hitler's Germany to Ayatollah Khomeyni's Iran. Why? The answer should evidently be sought in the concentration of economic power in the state's hands.

What happens when all other forms of ownership—apart from state ownership—are abolished? Forms are abolished, but property remains in the form of specific articles, commodities, means of production, natural resources, and so on. At whose disposal are they now? The state's? But the state is not a living person, it cannot issue instructions. This is done by people, by a small group of administrators with hitherto unprecedented economic might concentrated in their hands and with all the ensuing consequences for the people (violence, personality cult, and so on).

The fact that, in conditions of the development of commodity-money relations and the combination of different forms of ownership, the owners's influence on policy is indirect, is certainly a restraining element as regards the intensification of state bureaucracy. "Every monopoly inevitably leads to stagnation," V.I. Lenin wrote. It seems that we should have realized at least this, if nothing else. For many years on end we have been led by one single party following one single general line. But let me draw an analogy: Which sportsman will produce a more impressive result—the one who gains victory over a strong opponent or the one who jogs along the path in splendid isolation? Where will art and science reach their peak—in a society with free competition of ideas or in a society where everyone is closely following instructions stemming from the latest work of genius?

I can expect to hear voices of indignation: Look at him, what a target to pick! Was it not the party that launched restructuring? Yes indeed, who else should have launched it if not the most sober-minded people belonging to the one and only real political force in the country? But the point now is that the party should become the leading, inspiring—and so on—force, not just in declarations but actually in reality! What is needed for this purpose is not some amorphous mass, not a submissive and unanimous crowd but a creative multitude of voices; in other words a fundamental opportunity must be created to form freely competing organizations expressing different shades of public opinion. Otherwise there will be nobody to be "inspired" and nobody to be "organized," since the sum of even millions of zeros is still nothing but zero. Struggle between social forces and opinions does not weaken the party but, on the contrary, verifies its course and gets rid of gross mistakes and deformations. As a matter of fact, the multiparty system is a phenomenon which exists in socialist countries and gets on very well with socialism. Being afraid of a political party's opposition is tantamount to being like a person with total immune deficiency who can catch even the most commonplace disease. The argument that the single-party system is an "historical development" in our country is also unconvincing. What a fatalistic views of history! History is made by people, and if historical experience teaches them that a certain option has not proved its worth, they are free to seek an alternative. As a matter of fact, neither the USSR Constitution nor any other legislative act prohibits the multiparty system; all they speak about is the CPSU's leading role. But these are different matters. To lead—not in conditions of a no-loser lottery but in conditions which exclude any monopoly of the truth—is the meaning of the system of pluralism. I think that both the leading party's prestige and our whole society will gain from this.

Rallies of Non-Lithuanian Speakers Protest Decree

LD0702115589 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Excerpts] A decree defining the use of Lithuanian as the state language of the republic was published a week ago.

Employees of the Ignalina AES and the Western Construction Directorate took part in a rally in the city of Snieckus. In all there were about 20,000 people.

According to the views of those who spoke at the rally, the constitutional rights of the Soviet people are violated by the decree adopted by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium, as it discriminates against the Russian-speaking population of Lithuania. Most people are concerned that the decree will close the door to higher education in Lithuania for their children and in general denies the right to live in Lithuania for people of nationalities other than Lithuanian.

Yuriy Rusenki, deputy minister of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, who took part in the rally, admitted that many problems have accummulated in Snieckus; he gave reasons for them and promised that ideas which had been voiced would be discussed.

The resolution adopted at the meeting demanded that a new edition of the decree be prepared on the results of the discussion of proposals advanced by people of nationalities other than Lithuanian, and which would ensure Russian and Lithuanian bilingualism.

Exactly the same ideas were voiced on the same day at a rally which took place at the Vilnius Design and Construction Amalgamation. These two rallies are the first where the interests of non-Lithuanians have been voiced so categorically.

These events were also commented on by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee in his traditional interview. [Begin Brazauskas recording] Implementing the decree in a place such as Snieckus causes certain difficulties and complications of course. We have to generalize and synthesize the opinion common to all the population of Lithuania and listen attentively to the voice of the majority. And this is what has been done. This decree is in no way directed at causing confrontations among people of different nationalities or among groups of people. Its nature, or I would say the appearance of the decree, is a natural phenomenon because the national language issue has already been voiced at the resolutions of the 19th all-union party conference.

And this is not such an ordinary occurence here in our party documents; until recently we could rarely find mention of ways to resolve this pressing question or proposals on how to solve this pressing question. [end recording]

In this interview Algirdas Brazauskas also devoted much attention to the development of Lithuania's economic relations with foreign countries and signing of new agreements with foreign firms.

Lithuanian Party, Sayudis Representatives Consult

PM0802094789 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 27 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Meeting in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A meeting was held in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee 26 January between members of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the Sejm Council of the "Sayudis" Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring. The meeting was opened with an introductory speech by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

It was specified that the congress of Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring crop farmers (conference of delegates from Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring groups) should be held 25-26 February in the republic Palace of Culture of Trade Unions. It was also decided to form an organizing commission which should prepare for a congress of Lithuanian crop farmers by the middle of this year. The congress will be attended by delegates from all kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and scientific institutions.

In addition, there was discussion of events linked with celebrations of 16 February—the day of the Lithuanian state's rebirth—in Vilnius and Kaunas. Television broadcasts and coverage are planned. There was disapproval of the official attitude toward this anniversary as displayed last year. There was a positive response to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court decision which waived all charges in connection with this anniversary. February 16 has been proclaimed a national holiday which must provide an opportunity for rallying and spiritual cleansing, sealing forever the irretrievability of formerly existing relations.

It was proposed to set up a working group of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the Sejm Council of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring to examine the most topical questions for the sake of avoiding misunderstandings. It is necessary to pool efforts so that central information media correctly inform the public about the true goals of restructuring in Lithuania.

The text of this announcement was jointly discussed after the meeting.

Lithuanian Liberty League Leader on Independence

LD0802110489 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Speech by Antanas Terleckas, leader of the Lithuanian Liberty League, at the Vilnius University History Department; date not specified—recorded]

[Excerpt] "LITHUANIA MINOR", a publication of the Klaypeda Sajudis group, has published an extensive interview with Antanas Terleckas, leader of the Lithuanian Liberty League. [passagde omitted]

This is not the newspaper's interview but the remarks made by Antanas Terleckas at the meeting of Vilnius University students and teachers in the history department.

In this short review, we have the opportunity to give only some of A. Terleckas' thoughts, evaluations, and aspirations, which reflect the Liberty League's program:

[Begin Terleckas recording] It has been said that the league overturned Ringaudas Songayla. Perhaps there is some truth in it, although I personally do not see any difference beetween Songayla and the new secretary. Why? The Lithuanian Communist Party has been fighting all the time against Lithuania's liberty, and it is clear that only people who are unconditionally subordinate to the Kremlin can be the leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Today the goals remain the same: To preserve Russia and to keep Lithuania forever as an integral part of it.

We are glad that we are not gagged and we are not thrown into prison as before. However, it does not mean that we will not find ourselves in prison. Why are we not gagged at the moment? In my opinion, it is because Gorbachev has to let the steam out of the pot which is called the Baltic states.

Lithuania has to be free and independent. If we admit that the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact is a criminal act and that only thanks to it Lithuania became Soviet, if today we openly maintain that Lithuania was occupied and this was not the expression of the will of the Lithuanian nation, then logically thinking we must demand the results of the occupation be eliminated.

Therefore, the first act of the rule-of-law state would be for the occupational Army to leave the country. Those who maintain that we must wait, do not believe in Gorbachev's perestroyka, do not believe that the USSR will be a rule-of- law state. We would like to believe.

The demand for freedom voiced by the three Baltic republics is not regarded favorably by the West. The USSR is a reserve for raw materials and marketing their goods. We have written many documents, we have turned to many foreign parliaments and organizations asking them to raise the Baltic state question at the UN General Assembly. Silence.

We respect those idealists who set up the Sajudis. They have many good intentions, but they are not experienced politicians. We try to cooperate with the Sajudis, but sometimes it cooperates and sometimes it does not.

It is beginning to get scared. Intelligentsia. We have nothing to lose.

We do no harm to Gorbachev. If we did, I would not be talking here. He needs international recognition. One militiaman told me that perestroyka is needed only to fool the West. I do not know how right he is, but those abroad believe in perestroyka more than we do here. Having seen our tricolors, having read that the cathedral in Vilnius has been returned to believers, these people who absolutely do not understand our situation declare that the area of great freedom has arrived in the Baltic states. Yet nothing special has happened, we are only allowed to wag our tongues. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Journalists' Congress Opens 27 Jan

PM0802103789 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 28 Jan 89 pp 1, 3

[ELTA report: "Eighth (Extraordinary) Congress of the Lithuanian SSR Journalists' Union"]

[Excerpts] Vilnius, 27 Jan—The Eighth (Extraordinary) Congress of the Lithuanian SSR Journalists' Union opened in the Press House today. There are 471 delegates taking part.

Comrades A. Brazauskas, V. Astrauskas, L. Shepetis, and K. Zaletskas; Yu. Paletskis, chief of the Central Committee Ideological Department; and P. Ignotas, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, arrived at the congress.

The congress is also attended by I. Zubkov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Journalists' Union Board; A. Safronenko, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Journalists' Union Board; A. Baumanis and E. Vaydeman, members of the Latvian SSR Journalists' Union Board; Yu. Palma, chairman of the Estonian SSR Journalists' Union Board, and E. Khiiyon, deputy chairman of the union; R. Demenchuk, responsible secretary of the Kaliningrad Oblast journalists' organization; and representatives of republic creative unions.

Chairman of the Board D. Shnyukas delivered the report of the Lithuanian SSR Journalists' Union Board on the avenues of its work and the problems at the contemporary stage of restructuring. [passage omitted]

A draft statute of the Lithuanian SSR Journalists' Union has been submitted for discussion at the congress. Its purpose is to galvanize the activity of the republic journalists' union. This activity is especially important now, at this exceptionally crucial period of Lithuania's rebirth and the entire country's restructuring, when we all advocate the republic's sovereignty and its autonomy, social justice, ecology, national schools, cultural and moral renewal, and tactful dialogue with the church.

The journalists' union unites personalities that are very different, both ideologically and in terms of creative interests. There are Communists, Komsomol members, nonparty people, members of the "Sajudis" Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring, and "Greens" to be found among us. Each one of us works in publications which have their own programs and goals. The union cannot claim the right to define the range of problems its members should tackle. But it does demand professionalism, observance of journalistic ethics, elementary probity, respect for opponents. There are tremendous untapped reserves in this regard. Let us hope that they will be set in motion for the sake of restructuring, for our Lithuania's sake.

The speaker also dwelt in detail on the consolidation of the journalists union's material and technical base.

In conclusion, the speaker said:

"It is incumbent upon us journalists to bear in mind that we are a separate and original detachment of Lithuania's creative intelligentsia, bearing responsibility for everything that happens now and in the future in the land of the Neman River. We are the ones who bear prime responsibility for incorporating the centuries-old traditions of the Lithuanian press in the treasury of national culture and for ensuring the unity of all journalists in the country for the sake of restructuring. At this point I would like to appeal to the internationalism of our union's journalists.

"We also bear responsibility for propaganda, for appraising the creative work of our colleagues representing other creative unions, for rallying our scientists to enlighten the public through the mass media. In supporting the restructuring pursued by the party, the fruitful initiatives by 'Sajudis,' and the political activeness of the people, we have perfect opportunities to become knights of good journalism." [passage omitted]

The congress is continuing its work.

Catholic Magazine Begins Circulation in Lithuania

LD0902074189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0524 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Vilnius, 9 February (TASS)—The first issue of a popular magazine for believers KATALIKU PASAULIS (Catholic World) has been brought into Soviet Lithuania, in an edition of 100,000 copies. It is published by the publishing group attached to the Episcopalian Conference of the Lithuania Catholic Church. The magazine will appear biweekly.

The editorial program declares that the magazine will adhere to a progressive [prosvetiteliskiy] line and support glasnost and a constructive dialogue. It sees its task in explaining various aspects of the Catholic faith and morals and in widening knowledge of holy scripture, liturgical rituals, and religious holidays. It is planned to print information about the history of the Catholic Church in Lithuania and about prominent religious figures. This publication will engage in propaganda for a sober and highly moral way of life, the stability of the family, sincerity in relations between people, and harmony in society.

KATALIKU PASAULIS is being circulated in Lithuanian Catholic churches and also through state newsstands, where Soviet periodicals are sold.

Latvian Party Ponders Interfront Congress

PM0902095789 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 26 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has discussed the progress and results of the constituent congress of the International Front of Latvian SSR Working People and the tasks of party committees and organizations connected with consolidating all healthy forces in the republic. It was noted that the congress has attracted great attention among the public and has been appraised in different ways by different groups of the population. This is evidenced by the letters and telegrams sent to party and soviet bodies and the mass media.

The congress essentially completed the formation of another mass social organization and confirmed the growth in the working people's political and social activity. In both its statute and its declaration, the International Front sets itself the aims of helping to strengthen socialist democracy and glasnost, promote the economic independence of the Latvian SSR within the framework of the USSR's unified national economic complex, ensure the continued free development of all peoples in Soviet Latvia, strengthen friendship and equal cooperation between the peoples of the USSR on the basis of internationalist principles, and enhance the population's living standard and the protection of its social interests.

A positive assessment was made of the efforts of International Front leaders to actively participate in the discussion of economic accountability, self-financing, self-management, and the improvement of the procedure for land use, as well as of constructive proposals aiming to improve the ecological situation in the republic, introduce Latvian language teaching in kindergartens, and improve Latvian language teaching in schools and VUZ's.

The International Front's proclaimed course of cooperation with the Latvian People's Front and other social organizations and societies involved in implementing and deepening restructuring, and also its desire to speed up restructuring with real action deserve a positive appraisal.

At the same time the course taken by the constituent International Front Congress and the speeches by some of the delegates have caused considerable offense and agitation among the population. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau shares people's concern over the opinions, authoritarian in spirit, expressed in the speeches of some of the delegates, particularly in the speeches by R.A. Dudnik, chief of the legal department at the Riga Electric Lamp Plant, and G.Ye. Sakharov, a teacher at the Liyepaya School of Navigation. These speeches were not properly condemned by Communists, who comprised the majority of congress delegates, and demonstrate the low political standards of a number of those who took part in the discussion.

It is also impossible to agree with the negative attitude expressed by a number of the congress participants toward the state status of the Latvian language, the cultural and historical emblems of the Latvian people, and the legal regulation of republic citizenship status. One cannot approve of the opinion of those International Front members who saw only shortcomings in the Forum of Latvian SSR Peoples, which took an important step toward uniting the peoples living in the republic.

The congress showed that representatives of the non-Latvian population predominate in the International Front. This largely explains the certain lack of understanding on the part of some International Front members regarding the special features of Latvians' national self-awareness and their perception of the economic, social, demographic, and linguistic problems which have accumulated in the republic. The fact that conservatism, national nihilism, certain signs of chauvinism, and orientation toward the stereotyped images of past years were not fundamentally appraised during the formation of the International Front is also worrying. Practice shows that even in the International Front there are people who try to use the language of diktat when addressing their opponents.

These and other shortcomings which have manifested themselves during the formation of the International Front and at its constituent congress have given rise to a certain degree of mistrust among some members of the population toward this organization and prompted a fresh wave of tension in interethnic relations.

To a certain extent the situation has been complicated by hasty statements and judgements about the International Front in the newspapers and in some Latvian radio and television broadcasts and by one-sided assessments of the congress. And the International Front leaders themselves have not been sufficiently active in explaining the positions of this organization on a number of serious issues.

The Bureau believes that the healthy forces of the International Front must self-critically assess these shortcomings and find opportunities to eliminate them and strengthen the authority of this social organization. Its members include a considerable number of honest working people who are sincerely concerned for the fate of restructuring in our republic, properly understand the growing national self-awareness of the Latvian people, and support the decisions of the January Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum and the Forum of Latvian SSR Peoples.

While supporting the good initiatives and constructive proposals of social movements, the Central Committee Bureau has also said that it will determinedly oppose any signs of national nihilism, chauvinism, and national arrogance offending people's honor and dignity. Demands to solve various problems delivered in the form of an ultimatum will find no support from party bodies. Problems must be solved in a calm, measured fashion, taking into account the opinion of all interested organizations and national and social groups in the republic.

Problems will not be solved any faster by using administrative methods or strong-arm pressure. This can only complicate the situation and put a brake on restructuring. On the other hand, consistent observance of the principles of mutual respect and mutual amicability will help to find solutions to the acutest of contradictions.

Regardless of their nationality, people must be able to feel confident of the present and the future and the future of their children. This is the demand made by the 19th all-union party conference resolution "On Interethnic Relations." It is our common duty to back the resolution up with good actions.

Communists involved in the work of the International Front or any other social formation are bound to be guided primarily by the CPSU Program and CPSU Statute and, working on the basis of these documents, consistently uphold the party course of restructuring and renewal. Communists have no right to allow any deepening of the ethnic split in our society, because it could also cause unpardonable damage to party unity. It is the sacred duty of every Communist to guard this unity as something very precious.

Now, as never before, we need to consolidate all progressive forces and focus their energies as much as possible on solving the problems of restructuring—primarily on the harmonization of interethnic relations and real action. Drawing contrasts between nations, whipping up political feeling on ethnic grounds, all appeals for national exclusivity, and any underestimation of the role played by the ethnic factor must be given a decisive rebuff in party organizations and labor collectives.

It is extremely wrong to set the People's Front and the International Front in opposition to each other. Whoever does this is contributing, willingly or unwillingly, to the exacerbation of the situation in the republic and holding back the consolidation of the working people. We must persistently seek and demonstrate what brings these social movements closer together rather than divides them.

To be successful, there must be a constructive dialogue between the healthy forces of the People's Front and the International Front. As meetings between representatives of these two movements have shown, there is a basis for dialogue and joint action. This basis consists in the commitment of both fronts to the 19th party conference decisions and their common approaches to many of the republic's economic, ecological, and social problems. Communists belonging to the Latvian People's Front and the International Front of Latvian SSR Working People must persistently look for ways to bring these organizations closer together.

The formula for improving interethnic relations approved at the Peoples' Forum deserves the support of all healthy forces. This formula runs as follows: Latvia is the fatherland of the Latvian people and the only place where they can really fully develop their language and culture. Contributing to this development is not only the task of every Latvian, it is also the international duty of everyone living in the republic. At the same time, Latvian SSR state bodies are responsible for creating conditions favorable to the development of the language and culture of all national and ethnic groups living in the republic, while the Latvian nation is morally responsible for their all-around development.

It is the duty of party organizations, all Communists, and social organizations to strive to ensure that this declaration is everywhere backed up by good actions and respect for people of all nationalities. We are convincingly reminded of this by the CPSU Central Committee Address to the Party and the Soviet People, which says: **"Everywhere and in everything, the party will conduct a Leninist national policy and create the conditions to ensure that every nation and ethnic group in the land of the soviets lives a better life, that their distinctive national features are more fully and clearly revealed, and that our fraternal union becomes still richer and stronger."**

We must all enhance the political sophistication of our discussions and school ourselves in socialist pluralism of opinion. This requires tolerance of different opinions, mutual respect, calm comparison of different views on the same issues, and the ability to place the interests of the people above personal bias.

Workers in the mass media must give constant consideration to pluralism of opinion and ensure its objective reflection. Particular delicacy should be shown when dealing with the problems of interethnic relations. The leaders of the mass media must remember their responsibility for the validity of every article and its impact on the situation in the republic.

Restructuring demands real action. A calm, creative atmosphere in labor collectives and the combined efforts of all party, state, and social organizations are needed to speed up the process. The International Front of Latvian SSR Working People must also constantly bear this in mind in its activity.

The Bureau believes that the republic's Communists and working people will support the decisions of the January Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, which aim to deepen restructuring, consolidate all healthy forces, and renew our society on a socialist basis. This support must find practical embodiment during the election campaign.

Latvian Interfront Member Views Congress

PM0802123589 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 27 Jan 89 p 4

[Interview with T. Zhdanok, member of the Latvian SSR Working People's International Front Council Presidium and docent of the Higher Mathematics Department of the P. Stuchka Latvian State University, by correspondent V. Dubrovskiy under the rubric "International Front After the Congress": "Policy of Consolidation"; place, date not given]

[Text] The first session of the Council of the Latvian SSR Working People's International Front, elected at its constituent congress, has been held. T. Zhdanok, member of the council presidium and docent of the Higher Mathematics Department of the P. Stuchka Latvian State University, tells our correspondent what questions were resolved there.

[Zhdanok] The session primarily examined the question of electing the council presidium which, under a provision of the International Front's statutes, will direct our public organization's current work between council sessions. It has 10 members: A.G. Alekseyev, deputy chief of Riga Gorispolkom Local Trading Administration; A.K. Belaychuk, prorector of Riga Red Banner Civil Aviation Engineers Institute; Yu.L. Lisment, senior inspector of Ogrskiy Rayon Professional Fire Protection Detachment; I.V. Lopatin, engineer for the "Latsantekhmontazh" Trust; A.A. Lozhkov, lecturer at Riga Civil Aviation Technical Flying School; A.A. Petrov, worker at the "Kommutator" Production Association; V.I. Prutsev, chief of Riga Electrical Machine-Building Plant's Economic Planning Department; V.A. Chirksta, deputy director of the "Dinamo" Sports Society; S.I. Yurkevich, shop chief at the "Svetotekhnika" Production Association; and myself.

The council determined our main commissions and elected their chairmen. Twelve commissions are being formed: production-economic; agro-industrial; environmental protection; interethnic relations; agitation and propaganda; public education and culture; liaison with soviet, party, and public organizations; youth affairs; legal; mass organizational; sociological research; and also health care, physical culture, and sport.

[Dubrovskiy] Tatyana Arkadyevna, which priority work areas did the council outline for the International Front?

[Zhdanok] To be more accurate, they were determined at the constituent congress. The council members reemphasized only the most important of them. They include continuing the policy of consolidating all healthy forces in Soviet Latvia, taking an active part in the elections of USSR people's deputies, struggling to improve the ecological situation in the republic, and discussing the draft laws on language, on citizenship, and on ending nonregulated population growth.

[Dubrovskiy] A question inevitably arises in this connection which readers now put to us quite frequently in their letters and telephone calls. What is the International Front's attitude to the fact that in response to its open letter to the Latvian People's Front [LPF] Duma about cooperation, D. Ivans, chairman of the LPF Duma, totally rejected cooperation in his reply published 18 January in the newspaper PADOMYU YAUNATNE and later reprinted by the newspapers SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA?

[Zhdanok] Quite frankly, we were reckoning on a more constructive approach from the LPF leaders. We had already begun receiving reports that International Front and People's Front organizations locally had begun cooperating on specific problems. Then suddenly this reply. At the council session one member even said that the leader of the LPF group at their enterprise had brought him his apologies in some dismay, for the workers themselves had found themselves in an extremely awkward position in the face of such an unconstructive stance by the LPF leader.

Unfortunately, D. Ivans refuses to budge an inch from the sharply negative stand which he took with regard to the International Front even before the draft program documents were published. It is characteristic that from that moment to this all the efforts of the LPF leadership and of many journalists have been aimed at discrediting the International Front. For this they specially seek out, emphasize, and exaggerate negative aspects—of which no mass public movement which is finding its feet can be free—and totally ignore, keep silent about, or frequently even distort the constructive substance of our documents, statements, and utterances.

The "open reply" not only does not help to consolidate Soviet Latvia's working people but is virtually a call for confrontation with people who to one degree or another do not share the LPF program and the resolutions of its constituent congress.

Despite this, the International Front Council is leaving the door open for cooperation with the LPF. Our motto is as before—support the Communist Party's policy of revolutionary restructuring not in words but in deeds and take an active working part in resolving specific socioeconomic tasks.

[Dubrovskiy] The constituent congress of the International Front elicited a very ambivalent response among the republic's population. Many readers emphasize that individual delegates' speeches, in which emotion frequently gained the upper hand, contributed to this.

[Zhdanok] Unfortunately, I have to agree with that. Particularly as regards the speeches by R.A. Dudnik, chief of Riga Electric Lamp Plant's Legal Department; and G.Ye. Sakharov, lecturer at Liyepaya School of Navigation. It is true that they were censured at the congress itself, but evidently this was not done with sufficient weight, as the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau rightly pointed out after recently examining the course and results of the International Front's constituent congress. Other shortcomings were mentioned too. We can see them. Therefore it was no coincidence that the council devoted considerable attention at its session to analyzing them and seeking ways to eliminate them.

But, you will agree, not only these speeches elicited frequently groundless criticism of the entire International Front. The campaign to discredit it, which I have already mentioned, was clearly manifested at press conferences at the time of the International Front's constituent congress. And it is continuing now. Incidentally, I myself encountered this when my colleagues leveled patently groundless accusations and almost insults at the so-called "protest rally" held at the Latvian State University 9 January.

[Dubrovskiy] In all probability, this was connected with your speech as coreporter at the International Front Congress?

[Zhdanok] Yes. It voiced alarm at the fact that the university's streams in the humanities where instruction is in the Russian language are very small. Unfortunately, when enumerating them I failed to point out that in the "history" and "geography" specialties, instruction only in the Lettish language is confined to the day department. In the correspondence department there are groups with Russian-language instruction plus a group of historians in the evening department. I apologize for that inaccuracy.

For information: In 1988 admission to the Latvian State University's day department for instruction in the Russian language was announced for 2 specialties, in the Lettish language for 23, and in both languages for 13 specialties.

In the republic's VUZes as a whole students are instructed in the day department in Russian in 27 specialties, only in Lettish in 68 specialties, and in both languages in 50 specialties.

However, the inaccuracies in press articles since the congress have been of a more profound nature. Incidentally, this applies also to your newspaper, because, giving his own interpretation of a phrase from my speech, a journalist distorted an idea expressed in the coreport. I would like to hope that there will be no more such inaccuracies.

[Dubrovskiy] These days people have been addressing to our editorial office very diverse assessments of the International Front Congress. In all probability, you too receive such mail?

[Zhdanok] Letters which the International Front receives from the republic's inhabitants with specific comments and advice really do make a big contribution to analyzing the work of the congress. Some of them maintain, incidentally, that no words of respect for the Lettish people and their culture were heard at the congress. This is untrue—let us recall A.K. Belaychuk's report and many other speeches. And I will venture to cite an extract from my coreport: "It is possible to understand the viewpoint that the Letts cannot feel at home under conditions when they are ceasing to make up the absolute majority. And representatives of other nationalities must seek to reduce to a minimum the Lettish population's discomfort associated with this—this concerns language, respect for national customs, names, symbols (even to the detriment of their own habitual ideas). He who is scornful of the cultural wealth created by other peoples cannot be a true internationalist."

On the other hand, it is perfectly natural that the speeches emphasized painful problems for the republic's entire multinational population which were inadequately covered at the LPF congress and the Forum of Peoples of Soviet Latvia.

In assessing the congress we must probably, nonetheless, proceed from its general thrust toward the peoples' mutual understanding and toward strengthening their friendship and not focus attention on what could disunite people.

And once again about the mass media. Many of their representatives have begun devoting unjustifiably great attention to the biographical data of the International Front's leaders. Therefore, to prevent various false interpretations from arising later, I will say a few words about myself. My grandmother was born at the end of the last century in Rezekne. My relatives participated in the revolutionary struggle. They include people who suffered repression during the years of the personality cult and people who died at the hands of the German fascist invaders. I myself am a native of Riga. I graduated from the Latvian State University's Mathematicophysical Faculty. I was secretary of the faculty Komsomol organization and joined the party in the 4th year. I have been teaching mathematics to economists for 18 years. I did my scientific training in France, and I frequently participate in scientific conferences. Apart from my native tongue, I speak Lettish, English, and French. I consider Latvia and Riga my homeland.

[Dubrovskiy] What else was on the agenda of the council session?

[Zhdanok] The third item was "any other business." We discussed questions of improving our organization's structure and creating a press organ of the International Front, contacts with analogous movements in other republics, and problems of the activities of local organizations. Incidentally, it is possible that not everyone knows that our current account has changed: **Account No 100700186 has now been opened at the branch of the Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development in Riga's Leninskiy Rayon** for the Latvian SSR Working People's International Front.

To sum up briefly the first council session, it revealed a general desire to resolve the remaining organizational questions as quickly as possible and to embark on specific deeds.

Restructuring is pressing. As the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau emphasized, "what is needed to accelerate it is a calm, creative atmosphere in labor collectives and the combined efforts of all party, state, and public organizations. And the Latvian SSR Working People's International Front must constantly take this into account in its activity." These words express the idea which was the leitmotiv of our council's first session.

[Dubrovskiy] Thank you for the conversation.

Latvian Academician Reviews Progress in Republic

PM0302132489 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 2 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Academician Valentin Shteynberg of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences: "Position and Opposition: The Story of What Is Happening Here in Latvia"]

[Text] Riga—If you spend even a few days in Latvia you cannot help hearing the dominant theme—the Latvian nation and the Latvian language (which is inseparable from the people's culture) can only develop fully within Latvia itself. Who is arguing! But the future of other peoples living here—Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Jews, Gypsies, and so forth—is closely bound up with the future of the Latvians, the Latvian land, and socialist Latvia, and depends on Latvia's well-being.

Self-isolation on the part of each nation and ethnic group, their separation from each other and from other peoples of the Soviet Union and of foreign countries, and even the slightest weakening of mutual bonds would impoverish everyone. The majority of inhabitants of Latvia realize this and come out resolutely in favor of consolidating efforts for the sake of restructuring, seeing this as the only opportunity to successfully resolve ethnic problems. This was spoken of at the forum of peoples of the Latvian SSR held at the beginning of December, where a platform for creative and democratic life in the republic was proclaimed: "Latvia Is Our Common Home."

You would have thought there was no sensible alternative to this concept. But the situation in Latvia came into dramatic conflict with phenomena arousing surprise, perplexity, and hostility. What is happening?

In certain conditions, the growth in the people's self-awareness is reflected at the level of day-to-day life, in the form of flareups of nationalism or chauvinism. I know from my own observations that the majority of people condemn both these, but they find it hard to see how the national differs from the nationalist, that is, from nationalism and chauvinism, and how to combat them. Unfortunately, in trying to clarify the nature of these phenomena we forget that every people must conduct the struggle against nationalism (chauvinism) first and foremost in their own home.

I was delighted to read the article by Ukrainian writer B. Oleynik in PRAVDA (25 November 1988), in which he criticized his fellow countrymen for nationalist failings. Here in Latvia such things are as rare in the press as albinos are in nature—usually nationalism (chauvinism) is something that one side looks for in the other side, thereby exacerbating mutual injury and misunderstanding. Tolerance and attentiveness toward people of a different nationality are in short supply in the republic; we are not very exacting toward ourselves, but we are prepared to insult someone else on any pretext. And when it is the sense of national dignity that is offended, common sense disappears and a dispute becomes a conflict. The sides forget that "nothing is more difficult than national characterizations. They are easy for an outsider to make, and always smack of oversimplification to the 'insider' who has even a vague understanding of the depth and complexity of national life" (the 19th century thinker G. Fedotov).

With restructuring, many thousands of people who had previously never given politics a thought became involved in political life in the republic (and, incidentally, the country as a whole). People who formerly used to sit silently at meetings, were not very talkative in the smoking room, and sat quietly watching television at home, are today trying to establish their position in the collective, in society. But we have no experience of democratic polemics, and political culture is only just developing, so sometimes much that is naive, hasty, and simplistic can be glimpsed in people's opinions. In ethnic relations oversimplification leads to distortions, and that is dangerous. And I would like to support the Latvian screenwriter V. Lorents, who said in his New Year wishes in the journal RODNIK (Riga, No 12, 1988): "Democracy is first and foremost a question of culture. Without the paramountcy of culture in human life, there will be neither wheat, nor rye, nor wise government. And that is why it is necessary to think seriously about the cultural norm of morality—morality in work and life."

The undervaluation of culture has already played a fateful role (in conjunction with other factors) in our country. Serious students of the genesis of the personality cult and the command-and-administer system always isolate the factor of the low cultural level of the masses. Lenin drew attention to it too: "...the center of gravity of work now boils down to culture-mongering," but the revolutionaries of the time ignored this warning. Let us not make any more mistakes!

Of course, the republic's present troubles are not confined to this. Latvia, like the rest of the country, is experiencing the consequences of the recent destructive barbarism (the supreme lack of culture, if you like) which was the norm for the Stalin and Brezhnev regimes.

One of Latvia's gravest problems developed in ecology, and here mutual understanding alone does not help. The Riga coast, where bathing became dangerous to health, has been well known for a long time. Let us take another case—the little town of Ventspils, where the inhabitants are advised to keep gas masks handy "just in case," because gas pollution levels here exceed all norms. The reason is the violation of elementary rules at the local ammonia production plant and in the course of transshipment of dangerous cargoes at the port.

As a member of the older generation, I remember that gas masks were worn at the front. And even then, not all the time. Today, in peacetime, civilians are forced to do this in Ventspils. Whichever way the city authorities turn to rectify the situation, everything is useless. And the despairing inhabitants have protested once again, collecting more than 13,000 signatures in the city in a demand for resolute measures. Meanwhile hundreds of thousands of tonnes of combustible and explosive material are stored on the territory of Ventspils. If there was an accident or explosion, nothing would be left of the city or its inhabitants.

Urbanization is another "pressure" on ecology. Today one in three inhabitants of the republic lives in Riga. The ecological burden here has long since passed the acceptable limits. But here, too, problems are not being resolved, it is merely a matter of papering over the dangerous ecological "cracks" or drawing up programs aimed at the next century and capable of nothing more than appeasing public opinion for a short while.

The republic's capital patently needs the "Gordian knots" in transport to be untied, and here a subway could help. But the city's inhabitants, afraid that this would again cause an increase in the influx of manpower from outside, voted against building one. However, in December, when snowfalls yet again disrupted the operation of transport, many people remembered the subway again.

We know that the problem of the artificial influx of manpower is a problem not only for the Baltic region, but also for Moscow and many other major industrial centers. In Riga it is exacerbated by the fact that the "newcomers" here are the Russian-speaking population who have difficulty (which is also understandable) in settling down in new social conditions, in a cultural milieu that is new to them. Ethnic relations are subjected to an additional strain. Latvians today represent a minority of the population in their own land, and this is largely the fault of decades spent pursuing a policy whereby production units were opened in the republic that required manpower to be brought in from outside.

Yet worldwide experience exists. As a specialist in philosophy, I also study ecological issues, and therefore I would go so far as to point out that this experience could be useful for Riga (and not only Riga!) too. In Brazil, a new capital was built, outside the old one with its population of many millions. In Australia, the capital is Canberra, not the largest city in the state. In Japan they are working on a plan for a new capital to be built outside Tokyo, which is overloaded with transport, institutions, and a population of many millions.

Why not move the capital of Latvia, for instance, to the small town of Tsesis (130 km from Riga)? All governmental and other repbublican institutions, the university, and other republican VUZ's could be transferred there. After all, in Khrushchev's time the Latvian Agricultural Academy moved from Riga to Yelgava! If you also took some of Riga's enterprises out of Riga and moved them to the east of the republic, to Daugavpils and Rezekne, for instance—those enterprises for which raw materials are brought in from the east and whose output is almost all exported from the republic (electric trains, agricultural machines)—then Riga could at last breathe easily.

People may say that this is a crazy idea. But so often it is "crazy" ideas that have saved the situation when it had become almost disastrous. Perhaps restructuring is a "crazy" idea too, but it alone can put our country on its feet and advance socialism along the right path. There is no other way! In the end such a project will probably prove cheaper for Riga than patching up the ecological cracks.

In conditions where the republic faces very difficult socioeconomic tasks, an enormous creative role could be played by the mass media and the new, recently formed social organizations. Especially since, with the development of democracy and glasnost, our television, radio, newspapers, and journals are becoming increasingly popular. Like, for instance, the Latvian Television program "Labvakar" ("Good Evening").

It is watched by thousands of people who only recently were in a state of passive stagnation. But that is why journalists today particularly need professionalism and honesty in their dealings with viewers. There have been many successful programs. But it is annoying to see program producers and presenters losing their sense of proportion, going along with backward sentiments, and hurrying to present "sensations" for the sake of instant effect.

The program presenters make no secret of their sympathies and antipathies. Republican Prosecutor Ya. Dzenitis has recently been a target of criticism from "Labvakar," mainly because he dared to express his position with regard to Latvian Television, and on "alien territory" too—in PRAVDA. Perhaps not everything in Ya. Dzenitis' article was balanced—after all, prosecutors, too, are learning to live and work in the new way, but why not dispute his opinions calmly and without bias, if they are wrong?

All at once A. Yerin, secretary of the party committee at the Riga experimental manufacturing equipment plant, found himself at the center of this popular program's critical attention. His only "fault" was that in his speech at the Riga City party conference he dared to ask: "Television, radio—what are they, a cooperative of politically immature people?" The question is to the point. But instead of a reasoned reply, the "Labvakar" commentators started delivering their own arrogant sermons from the television screens.

There was a real dressing-down for Riga Gorispolkom Chairman A. Rubiks. In their 11 December program the "Labvakar" presenters simply called him a liar, leaving the viewers ignorant of what lay behind this. But you could guess. At the aforementioned party conference A. Rubiks said this: "For many months we have been witnessing unconstitutional, antirestructuring phenomena, attempts to promote ethnic strife, national isolationism, and the splitting of society. And all this is done under cover of democratic slogans and appeals, through the mass collection of signatures for various programmatic appeals, through powerful pressure on the public consciousness from the pages of certain publications, and from the Latvian Television screen by means of insulting complaints and actions aimed at soviet and party organs and many leaders." By way of an example, A. Rubiks recalled a rally organized when the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies were leaving for Moscow for the recent session that discussed the amendments to the USSR Constitution and the Law on Elections. Such vile slogans were proclaimed at the rally, in the guise of a "sendoff for the deputies," that local newspapers were reluctant even to report them. Rubiks was indignant about all this, but television thinks everything is fine! (The next target of television criticism is predictable: It is not likely to bypass the author of this article).

Latvian Television retains the right to have favorites whom it favors in every way, and pet hates who really come in for it. Among the former are representatives of the Latvian People's Front, and among the second the main place goes to the recently formed Interfront [International Front]. Both movements are beginning to play an increasing role in the republic's life. The Latvian People's Front, which unites thousands of people who have become involved in political and social activity, has done much for restructuring, but has also made many mistakes, which always happens when something is new. Interfront, also a mass social organization, is only just beginning its life, and it still has to prove itself in the process of restructuring. But with television's help it has already become a subject of constant criticism, with words like "separatists" and even "counterrevolutionaries" coming up frequently.

Latvian Television, or more precisely the program "Labvakar," is more accessible to Latvian People's Front Chairman Daynis Ivans than anyone. The secret is simple: One of the program presenters is a People's Front leader. Viewers were shocked when matters went so far that Ivans used television to strengthen resistance in the republic to the adoption of very important documents at the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

No, the path the Latvian mass media have chosen is not the right one! This path hampers restructuring, rapprochement among people, and the rallying of nations and nationalities. True, there is much to the credit of the Latvian People's Front: active participation in the discussion of the drafts of the new laws on elections and constitutional amendments; the organization of voluntary work, in conjunction with Interfront, on the construction of cleansing installations in Riga; the provision of assistance to old people on New Year's Eve; and substantial aid to the victims of the earthquake in Armenia. The People's Front is also trying to put into practice the proposals of Latvian creative workers regarding the restructuring of economic and social life in the republic. But some of its actions are patently destructive, and, moreover, unpredictable. This, too, must not be kept quiet.

When the amendments to the USSR Constitution and the draft law on elections were being discussed, there was picketing in the republic on the initiative of the Latvian People's Front, and a campaign was organized to collect signatures against the draft laws. Even minors added their "signatures," and the placards carried by the excited picketers were sometimes covered with offensive and provocative slogans. Then, at a meeting of the Latvian People's Front Duma with representatives of the Estonian People's Front and the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring ["Sajudis"], the draft laws under discussion were assessed as a "revision of the CPSU's new course, or even open counterrevolution." All this was reported by the youth newspaper PADOMYU YAUNATNE on 10 November 1988. One could be patronizing about all this: When people try to appear ultrarevolutionary, what often comes out is infantile revolutionism. This kind of "leftism" has been seen before in history.... But perplexity and distress are prompted by the fact that more than 2 months later not one of the People's Front leaders has deemed it necessary to clarify this bizarre position, or even admit, perhaps, that it was a mistake. And this silence makes one think that something similar could happen in future. We have no option but to recall the usefulness of reading works of Lenin's such as, for instance, "The Infantile Disease of 'Leftism' in Communism." Do Communist Daynis Ivans and the other Communists belonging to the Latvian People's Front read this work?

By the way, about Communists. In my opinion the republic's party organizations have only recently recovered from the state of shock in which they spent the summer and fall of last year. The republic's party leadership is also overcoming its confusion. V. Zarinsh, electric welder at the Riga Maritime Commercial Port and member of Riga party gorkom bureau, was right when he said in PRAVDA (26 December 1988): "I am a Communist, and therefore I take my share of responsibility for the fact that we have to a large extent lost the vanguard role of party members." It would be no bad thing for all Communists to remember this. After all, it was the party that started restructuring, and helping it in this very important cause is our common task.

Estonia's Vyalyas Disowns 'Separatism' Movements

PM0802155589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 26 Jan 89 p 1

[EA-ATTRIBUTED R. Amos report: "Build the Future While Remembering the Past"]

[Text] There are brilliant, heroic chapters but also darker chapters in the history of our country and the Communist Party. Great triumphs, bitter losses, the deification of a leader, and the annihilation of millions of people are recorded in these pages. There are among us those who lived through all these events in history proudly, with heads held high.

On 25 January V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, had a meeting with party, war, and labor veterans. He gave a party assessment of the 11th and 13th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenums and talked about the situation in the republic party organization and the tasks connected with restructuring party work.

V. Vyalyas devoted a great deal of attention to the decisions adopted at the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet sessions, which declared the republic's sovereignty and dealt with questions of the economy and the rule-of-law state. A great deal of rewarding work has been done to expose the evil deeds perpetrated under Stalinism.

The republic party organization is faced with three main tasks in the immediate future: To hold successful elections of USSR people's deputies (more than 150 candidates are registered in the Estonian SSR to date) and to work out a platform for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on agricultural problems, due to be held in March, and also a platform for the plenum on interethnic relations. In the latter case we must restore the Leninist principles of interethnic relations which have been seriously violated and distorted for a long time here.

At the same time we cannot accept and can never reconcile ourselves to extremist movements whose aims are separatism—separation from the USSR—and the incitement of interethnic hostility, V. Vyalyas stressed.

The first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee went on to dwell on youth problems. In his opinion, the prime task is to restore young people's faith in the party. For decades we have lived in a society with a deformed morality, which has produced nihilism, brutality, and cynicism in young people. Common human principles have been shaken. Now the party and its distinguished guard have to do their utmost to restore universally recognized, humanist moral values in young people.

A great deal was said at the meeting about the current state of the economy, the drop in living standards, and the growth of inflation. However difficult it is for us, the party must tell the people the truth and only the truth. Here are a few figures. Whereas labor productivity rose by 5.1 percent last year, wages increased by 7 percent. At the same time, the delivery plan was met by 99.6 percent, although the 21 enterprises which failed to meet delivery targets in full included 10 union enterprises. Unfortunately, union plants and their all-union departments are showing markedly little interest in producing the goods Estonia needs. But, as V. Vyalyas pointed out, he recently had a meeting with the USSR minister of the machine tool building industry and was satisfied with the results of the meeting. So this is one optimistic note in this sad refrain.

Then V. Vyalyas dwelt on the situation in the republic's agricultural sphere, interethnic relations, and the Law on Language.

The veterans talked about the activity of their organization, its tasks, and problems of concern to them.

NKAO Special Administration Organ Begins Work

PM0902094989 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 26 Jan 89 p 1

["Our special correspondent" G. Pogosov report: "At a New Stage"]

[Text] Stepanakert—As we have already reported, the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Special Administration Committee has begun its work. As is well known, this administrative organ is invested with extensive powers to resolve the most important political, social, and economic problems in the NKAO.

Yu. Pogosyan, secretary of the Stepanakert Railroad Station Party Bureau: "It is essential to resolve democratically the problems which accumulated for the NKAO during the years of stagnation. Time, patience and a great deal of work will be required for this. Good prospects are opening up today for the oblast"....

D. Guseynov, a chemistry teacher in the city of Shushi: "We Azerbaijanis and Armenians living in Nagorno-Karabakh have nothing to argue about; we have lived for centuries in peace and harmony. And now we must think about how to augment our country's wealth by common efforts."

That is how two of the oblast's inhabitants commented on their attitude to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's Decree to introduce special administration for the NKAO. On the whole its entire population approved of this constructive decision. This compromise form of administration, which is a temporary measure, accords equally with the interests of the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis, the Kurds and the Russians living in this region.

The wind of new changes has burst into snow-covered Nagorno-Karabakh. Stepanakert's industrial enterprises are working at a normal pace. Those who are concerned with the city and oblast's survival have joined in the work. Screenings at movie theaters have started again, the collective of Stepanakert's M. Gorkiy Theater is working on a premiere, the "Karabakh" footballers are completing training for the season, classes are taking place in all educational institutions, new schools are being opened, and agricultural workers and livestock breeders are getting ready to meet the spring.

It is very crowded these days in the Stepanakert State Picture Gallery, where an exhibition of works by modern Armenian artists, passed on as a gift to the NKAO, has been opened. Life in the oblast is taking its usual course.

In conversation with BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY's correspondent, A.I. Volskiy, chairman of the NKAO's Special Administration Committee, talked about the committee's most important tasks in the economic, social, and cultural spheres. An extensive program has been planned to enlist the aid of union ministries and departments to increase the NKAO's economic potential and to radically restructure industrial and agricultural enterprises. It is proposed to implement measures to switch the oblast to regional economic accountability [khozraschet].

In the social sphere there is the task of sharply increasing the scale of housing construction, and public health, education and cultural facilities. For this it is essential to sharply increase the capacity of the No 9 construction trust, to create its own base for the construction industry, to put in order existing highways and build new ones as quickly as possible, and to regulate all questions of power and gas supplies.

"We shall primarily move toward centralized help in resolving economic and social problems," A.I. Volskiy says, "while maintaining multifaceted ties with Azerbaijan. It would be absolute madness for the entire oblast to break them.

"As regards the cultural sphere, ties with Armenia will be expanded in every way possible, particularly in the sphere of language and literature, art and publishing, education and cadre training. This approach will be observed in equal degree as regards the Azerbaijani section of the population.

"We shall encourage and develop the NKAO population's useful contacts with Azerbaijan and Armenia. It is to be supposed that life's main questions can and must be resolved in conditions of democracy and glasnost by the powers of the oblast's population itself."

A.I. Volskiy said in conclusion that in conditions when the solution of the NKAO's problems has reached an impasse, the vital necessity has arisen to switch from mutual recriminations to mutual respect and trust, cooperation and good-neighborliness, and to normalize and harmonize interethnic relations. This will undoubtedly assist in reducing social tension. It is essential to kindle in people's hearts faith in social justice, and to move from confrontation to consolidation. We are strong when we are together and when we have single paths and interests.

Realizing that painful problems cannot be resolved by strikes and meetings, people are finding the only true way out of the situation—normalizing the working rhythm in labor collectives and increasing the oblast's economic potential.

Describing the situation, Major General A.I. Kolomiytsev, military commandant of the NKAO special region and Agdamskiy Rayon, said that "it is calm, but remains complex. The resettlement of Armenians from Stepanakert to regions where they will reside permanently has begun. Trips by private and public transport to Agdam, Lachin and Yevlakh are permitted. I am sure that life will resume its normal course in the near future. This depends on all of us, on our joint actions and efforts."

NKAO Registers No Recent Ethnic-Motivated Crime

LD0802180689 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] A senior official of the Interior Ministry in the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh has said not a single ethnic-motivated crime has been registered there ever since a state of special rule and a curfew were introduced in Nagorno-Karabakh and the adjacent area of Azerbaijan. Lieutenant Colonel (Tumanyans) was speaking in an interview for the press. He gave a reminder that over 470 crimes related to the interethnic conflict were registered there in just 3 days of last September. Now a program of social and economic development has been worked out which has helped to remove the causes of tension between Armenians and Azerbaijanians living in those regions.

More on MVD Briefing on Transcaucasian Discord

PM0802171789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Meeting at USSR MVD"; for further reportage on the MVD press conference on Transcaucasia, see the item headlined "Azerbaijan, Armenia Militia Dismissed, Tried", published in the 8 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 49]

[Text] A press conference devoted to the state of law and order in Armenia and Azerbaijan and the measures taken to strengthen it was held at the USSR MVD in Moscow 7 February.

"Almost 1 year has now passed since the dramatic, ethnically motivated events began in Transcaucasia," said Militia Major General N. Vodko, first deputy chief of the USSR MVD organizational inspectorate administration [orginspektorskiy upravleniye]. "The natural disaster that struck Armenia, which we all felt as a common human tragedy, has had a serious impact on the course of events in Armenia and Azerbaijan. However, in this situation some people who have links with criminal and corrupt groupings are continuing to foment national discord in both Transcaucasian republics."

Since the first hours of the earthquake MVD agencies have been actively involved in the work of clearing up the aftermath. More than 2,000 people have been rescued and more than 4,000 victims evacuated with their help. The fire service has put out 173 blazes and highway patrol roadblocks have checked more than 30,000 vehicles.

The crime situation in the earthquake zone remains difficult. Criminal cases involving 140 crimes committed there are under investigation. Seventy-one cases of theft of railroad freight have been detected. Some of the most zealous "leaders" in favor of so-called annexation [prisoyedineniye] have been charged with provoking unlawful actions and arrested.

Major General A. Mamedov, Azerbaijani minister of internal affairs, and U. Arutyunyan, Armenian minister of internal affairs, answered journalists' questions.

The second part of the press conference was devoted to the tragic murder of two ordinary militiamen in Gorkiy. The young men, A. Gerasyuk and A. Kornilov, were shot from behind at point-blank range. The culprits have now been arrested. A Makarov pistol, which was used to commit the murder, three sawed-off guns, and ammunition were seized from them. This complete arsenal had been collected by them for use in armed holdups for purposes of gain.

It was noted that the number of murders of militiamen for the purpose of acquiring personal weapons had doubled in 1988 compared with the previous year.

Crimes, Disturbances Controlled

PM0802160589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 89 p 1

[A. Dyatlov and A. Trushkin report: "Not Stamped 'Secret.' USSR MVD Briefing on the Situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan"]

[Text] The briefing was addressed by Armenian SSR Internal Affairs Minister I. Arutyunyan, Militia Major General N. Vodko, and Azerbaijan SSR Internal Affairs Minister A. Mamedov. The briefing was devoted to an analysis of the complex situation which took shape in the two Transcaucasian republics in connection with tense interethnic relations and the December earthquake in Armenia.

Migration of the population assumed a large scale. After 22 November 1988 141,000 Azerbaijanis arrived in the Azerbaijan SSR from Armenia. A flow of more than 158,000 Armenians moved in the other direction. Later 43,000 Armenians and 4,000 Azerbaijanis went back.

Investigative-operational groups of the prosecutor's office and the USSR MVD were set up and are functioning to investigate crimes arising out of interethnic discord and the facts of mass riots, pogroms, and violence. Precisely 779 criminal proceedings have been instituted, including 27 for fanning interethnic enmity, and 355 people have been arrested.

MVD organs were alerted during the first hours after the earthquake. More than 2,000 people were rescused with their participation, and more than 4,000 casualties were evacuated. The militia guarded 168 vitally important installations.

Here are just a few questions broached at the briefing.

Question: It is hard to foresee an earthquake. But the emergence of disturbances?

Arutyunyan: Could the flareup have been foreseen? I think so: The rallies themselves and their intensity showed that tension was growing. We took preventive measures—we brought forces into a number of regions which, in our view, were the most dangerously explosive. And, it has to be said, we controlled the situation there. But no way did we expect there to be a sudden flareup in the quietest region. Of course, all this should have been foreseen. And we do not absolve ourselves of responsibility. I can add: Sometimes our militia too did not behave properly. We have dismissed 24 people, including 5 leaders, from the MVD for failing to fulfill their international duty and betraying the interests of the service, and many employees have been punished along party lines.

Question: Has the curfew produced real results? How many people have been arrested for violating it?

Arutyunyan: The curfew has undoubtedly justified itself. It was announced during disturbances in 19 rayons of the republic and in Yerevan. During the "state of emergency" the population surrendered 11,500 hunting rifles to rayon internal affairs departments for temporary safekeeping in accordance with the Council of Ministers resolution. During our other operational measures more than 300 other unregistered guns, including homemade ones, dozens of knives, grenade bodies, and so forth have been confiscated. Precisely [figure indistinct—might be 310 or 810] people have been arrested for offenses during the curfew. So, on the whole, the curfew has helped to stabilize the situation.

Question: Many materials on organized crime have appeared in the press. Including in Transcaucasia. The impression is created that the militia cannot cope with it. Corruption has penetrated deep, even penetrating, as we see, the soviet and party apparatuses. Are they not putting pressure on those who are combating the "mafia"? What is being done to overcome this pressure?

Mamedov: Yes, organized crime does exist, and we have begun speaking frankly about this. It exists in Azerbaijan too. A special administration is being set up in the republic MVD to combat organized crime.

As regards "pressure" and resistance—it does exist. But on the part of the criminal world. And party and soviet organs, on the contrary, are not only not "pressuring" but helping in every possible way to resolve these problems.

Question: ...And, to continue, is there a connection between corrupt persons and groups of criminals in Armenia and Azerbaijan and, particularly importantly, between them and the initiators of interethnic clashes in Transcaucasia?

Vodko: No such "interrepublic" connections have been brought to light. There are connections between individual criminals or groups—with regard to reselling, speculation, and so forth.

Question: Let us return to the earthquake. Were there thefts of freight entering the earthquake region? In particular, there were rumors about missing leather jackets, stolen imports....

Arutyunyan: You have to picture the situation: During the first 3-4 days aircraft were arriving at 15-minute intervals. Unfortunately, no system had been established for unloading, recording, and storing such a flood of materials. Schoolchildren and volunteers unloaded freight, working conscientiously. But it was precisely the lack of records and the muddle that gave rise to hundreds of rumors.

Here is another rumor: Ten tonnes (why tonnes?) of Afghan leather jackets went missing! They did not disappear anywhere—it was simply that food was coming from Afghanistan, and people had sent the jackets with it to a food base without investigating. We found them and carried out an audit: Just one child's cap with ear-flaps was missing! Other, real thefts are being investigated.

Question: Is it true that the population refused to take nonimported goods—including our used goods—and that people, on learning that things were not imported, supposedly refused to unload aircraft and cars, leaving this to soldiers?

Arutyunyan: I must clarify matters: Even in foreign aid, despite all the striking wrappings, they were mainly used articles. These are the official facts: up to 95 percent of things—both imported and not imported. This, incidentally, gave rise to rumors about some "substitution," that people were "taking good things and leaving us...." As regards servicemen, they simply came to help, as hands were needed for unloading.

Question: It was reported that convicts were temporarily released from places of imprisonment to search for relatives hit by the earthquake. Did they all return, and were there not excesses in this connection?

Arutyunyan: There were no excesses. All returned. Many ahead of schedule. Moreover, there was this instance, for example: Martirosyan, a convict searching for his son, discovered R38,000 in the ruins and handed it over to the state. It has to be said that he was pardoned following a petition from us.

Question: Does it not seem to you that we need well-equipped and trained militia subunits to control emergency situations, which could replace internal troops?

Vodko: A valid question. We proved not ready for the events around Nagorno-Karabakh, with regard to equipment as well. These problems are now being discussed. But we have set up special-purpose subunits in 22 major cities. Legal questions have arisen in connection with their creation. But a law on the militia, a list of the special means with which the militia generally will be equipped, and the methods and conditions of their use are now being drawn up. I will emphasize in any case that we will proceed from conditions of strict legality, as well as the need to ensure law and order and citizens' safety.

Question: How did the natural disaster affect the growth of crime in the earthquake regions?

Arutyunyan: In all, there were 87 thefts of personal property and 154 thefts of state property in the earthquake zone (according to data as of 1 February). But the number of cases of bodily harm and hooliganism dropped. The situation as a whole is normalizing. And this is thanks to the efforts of not only MVD workers but also everyone who came to help people at a difficult hour out of a sense of goodwill.

Ryzhkov Thanks C. Aznavour for Armenian Quake Aid

PM0802122989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Reception in the Kremlin"]

[Text] N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received C. Aznavour, the famous French singer, composer, and public figure of Armenian descent, in the Kremlin 7 February.

An unconstrained and friendly conversation took place, during which broad mutual understanding on the questions under discussion was displayed.

C. Aznavour talked about the work and plans of the "Aznavour for Armenia" Association that he has created to help children orphaned following the Armenian earthquake.

N.I. Ryzhkov expressed gratitude to C. Aznavour for his noble efforts aimed at easing the fate of the victims of the natural disaster. It was pointed out that the Armenian people and all Soviet people are grateful to Armenians in France and other countries for their sincere display of feelings of kindness and love for Armenia.

The wave of sympathy and human compassion that welled up throughout the world clearly reflected the recent positive changes in international relations, especially under the influence of restructuring in the Soviet Union, the new political thinking, and the realization of the integrity and interdependence of the modern world.

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers also briefed him on the impressive scale of the restoration work being mounted in the stricken regions of Armenia with the active participation of all the fraternal Soviet republics.

In conclusion he wished C. Aznavour great successes in his creative and public activity.

Yu.A. Melik-Ogandzhanyan, Armenian SSR minister of culture, took part in the conversation.

TASS Reports Aznavour Meeting

*LD0702182289 Moscow TASS in English
1740 GMT 7 Feb 89*

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Shvedova]

[Text] Moscow February 7 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov received in the Kremlin today famous French singer and composer Charles Aznavour.

On entering the room where the head of the Soviet Government greeted him, Aznavour apologized for his non-protocol attire. The singer was dressed in a bright yellow jacket. Aznavour remarked that he had not expected such a high-level reception.

Ryzhkov thanked Aznavour for his visit to Armenia and concern for December, 1988 quake victims in that Transcaucasian republic.

Newsmen had a chance to talk with the Soviet premier before the start of his conversation with Aznavour.

Asked how the head of the Soviet Government assessed international relief assistance to Armenia, Ryzhkov stressed its great importance for the republic.

It could be divided into two parts, he explained. Part of relief was intended directly for the quake victims. This was medicines, medical equipment, blankets, tents and food.

Secondly, there was assistance in restoring the damaged economy. "While at present, we no longer have a demand for medicines," Ryzhkov said, "of special significance is assistance in building new towns and villages.

The USSR will not reject help in building such social amenities as hospitals, schools and child-care centres."

"This is extremely important now," he pointed out. "The facilities built on what are now ruins will associate in people's memory with friendship and solidarity for many years ahead."

Stepanavan's Reconstruction Work 'Insufficient'

*NC0802125789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
0300 GMT 8 Feb 89*

[Text] [Words indistinct] yesterday during a meeting headed by Voronin, a member of the CPSU Central Committee commission and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

During the meeting an overall assessment was made of the work underway in Stepanavan City and in the rayon. It was pointed out that, according to the conclusions of the specialists' commission, there are many buildings in Stepanavanskiy Rayon which are either uninhabitable or derelict because of the quake. Stated for demolition are 21 schools with a total of 9,230 seats, the research-production unit, 24 kindergartens, 3 conservatories, the fine arts school, the [name indistinct] technical institute, a 500-seat [name indistinct], a 400-bed hospital, and 15 [words indistinct] ewnterprises. Only a very small part of the housing capacity has been spared. Also, 105 trade and public service centers, many village clubs, cultural buildings, and other buildings have been rendered unsafe. Industrial (?buildings) have been either partly or completely destroyed.

The following information was also presented to the commission: At present, out of 100 trade and public catering centers in the region, 57 are functioning; another 8 trade centers will open in the city by the end of the month.

Classes have resumed in all the schools in which the children who have remained have been enrolled. At present the schools are located in tents and in rail-car buildings. The raykom has assumed the responsibility of solving the school problem (?mid-year) and the problem facing kindergartens by the end of the semester by erecting prefabricated houses.

In the rayon's (?Kirovo) village, the construction of 16 wooden houses is proceeding. A number of industrial enterprises are partially operating in the rayon's center. The (ARTGAB) factory is operating in a temporary building. Reconstruction work is continuing, including in the spheres of water, gas, and energy distribution.

However, in general the pace of work to overcome the consequences of the quake is not sufficient. Noting this fact, the commission indicated that the raykom and Stepanavan gorispolkom have not carried out necessary obligatory work in the populated area concerning [words indistinct] and have failed to respond promptly to the people's requests.

Detailed information about the session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo will be published in the press.

Azerbaijan Party Nationalities Commission Meets

*LD0802095889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0204 GMT 8 Feb 89*

[Text] The first meeting of the Commission on Questions of Relations Between Nationalities under the Azerbaijan Central Committee Communist Party has been held. The main directions of the commission's activity and the (?form) of work for the first half of 1989 were discussed.

The meeting was chaired by Comrade Tatliyev, chairman of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the commission.

It was noted that the processes of restructuring, democratization, and openness have covered all spheres of life in our society, including relations between nationalities. Paying special attention to relations between nationalities was requested.

The commission's duty is to improve relations btween nationalities on the basis of Lenin's nationality policy and on the basis of the party line for multifaceted development of every nation and people, in connection with demands of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

A decision was adopted to carry out organizational work in the sphere of doing research for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on improving relations between nationalities in the USSR.

Life 'Returning to Normal' in Tajikistan

LD0802092789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0130 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] It is reported from the Tajikistan zone affected by the earthquake: supplies of electricity and telephone communications have been fully restored in Gissarskiy Rayon villages, which were destroyed by the onslaught of the earthquake and the gigantic landslide; life is returning to normal. Lessons have resumed in all the schools in the Rayon. More than 100 army tents have been made available as temporary classrooms. Medical aid centers are operating, and provision of hot food has been organized. Together with the Dushanbe garrison soldiers and troops from the Central Asian Frontier district, local civil defense units and units comprising the working people of the neighboring Leninskiy Rayon are taking active parts in rebuilding roads, electric power transmission lines, communications lines, and cargo transport operations. Construction of residential houses is already underway, side by side with the tent townlets; the repair of buildings that have survived is also in progress.

According to the latest data, material damage wrought by the disaster upon this rayon exceeds R200 million. The earthquake has claimed 274 lives; 70 people have been injured, and 11,000 people have been made homeless.

Problem of 'Kazan Gangs' in Moscow Investigated

PM0602130189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 7

[Article by own correspondents A. Sabirov and S. Lvov under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "To Moscow—With a Sawed-Off Shotgun"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Recently, Muscovites and guests in the capital have been increasingly concerned by the problem of the so-called "Kazan gangs." We are referring to groups of 15- to 20-year-old hooligans and thieves who come here from other cities (and not only from the Tatar ASSR) "to live it up." Is there any truth in this or not? IZVESTIYA correspondents A. Sabirov and S. Lvov were interested to find out from the leaders of law-enforcement bodies in both the Tatar ASSR and Moscow.

"We have had to keep all routes under strict observation," Yu. Gudkovich, Kazan transport prosecutor, said. "We had to establish for sure whether groups of teenagers were indeed going to other cities. If so, we would have had to have taken preventive measures against breaches of public order and possible criminal acts. However, we have not discovered a single case of organized trips by young people with improper intentions."

This does not mean, of course, that young people from Kazan are not visiting the capital and other places. People go on excursions, [sports] fans attend away matches, but shortages are also a common reason why people travel to the capital: to go and buy fashionable clothing or electronic equipment, for example.

The Moscow City Internal Affairs Administration held a briefing in January at which it discussed the trend of increasing theft, burglary, and robbery with violence in the capital, and the influence of citizens from outside Moscow on this trend. On 12 January SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA imparted the following information: "The thieves are mainly coming to the capital from Kazan and Naberezhnyye Chelny."

"I can say quite categorically that this is gossip!" Z. Nevmetov, Tatar ASSR deputy minister of internal affairs, believes. "I speak as someone who has been involved in a special study of the situation. People from the Tatar ASSR (of the most diverse nationalities) account for less than 1 percent of all juvenile criminals in the capital. A mere fraction of a percent, I would ask you to note."

So does this mean that the problem of the "Kazan gangs" does not exist?

...On 28 December K. and V., teenagers from Naberezhnyye Chelny, came to Moscow. Breaching the established regulations, they checked in at the Ostankinskaya Hotel and became involved in street robberies. On 6 January they were joined by four of their comrades from the same city—T., N., S., and B.—who stayed in the same hotel room with them. On 9 January they attached themselves to a well-dressed young woman on the metro train leaving Komsomolskaya Station. Their aim was to get her onto the platform and rob her. A young man—a student at the Kharkov Military School—came to her assistance. K. stabbed him with a knife....

On 7 January a group of young people from Kazan, Naberezhnyye Chelny, and Cheboksary gathered by the Palace of Youth on Komsomol Prospekt. S. and B., a couple of 17-year-olds, stopped a young man passing by and, putting a razor to his throat, demanded that he take off his jacket. When he tried to resist, the victim had his face cut to pieces.

"Since summer 1988 daring robberies in the streets and on the metro have become more frequent in Moscow," V. Solntsev, head of department in the Moscow Office of Criminal Investigations, said. "These robberies are being committed by teenagers, mainly from the Tatar ASSR and Chuvash ASSR. In the space of just 4 months—September through January—more than 700 people from this region have been arrested, of whom 8 percent are schoolchildren, 25 percent—students at vocational and technical schools, 20 percent—working people, and 39 percent—people who are not working or studying anywhere."

Solntsev showed us an entire collection of weapons confiscated from juveniles. A real sawed-off shotgun, made from a single-barrel hunting gun. Flintlocks [samopaly], a lifelike model of a Makarov pistol, long-handled "joke" mallets [molotki-"shutilniki"], sharpened files, brass knuckles, bracelets studded with razor blades, steel balls, siphon cylinders filled with powder, chains, springs, cables with knobs attached [trosy s nabaldashnikami]....

"Theft and hooliganism are even finding 'ideological' justification: It is no sin, they say, to 'redistribute' Moscow's wealth to one's own benefit," Solntsev explained. "So the causes of juvenile crime lie primarily in the social sphere."

A few words about the action taken by the militia. The Moscow Office of Criminal Investigations has been coordinating its operations with colleagues in the Tatar ASSR for more than a month now. Members of the republic MVD are working almost permanently in Moscow and Deputy Minister Z. Nevmetov has also come here—the one who categorically denies the phenomenon of crime "sprees" by teenagers. Only why?

We must also point out, however, that stories of the "Kazan gangs" are often based on all kinds of rumors. Before the winter vacations, for example, "information" started to circulate in the Moscow region about preparations for a "week of love," like the one in Kazan, people said. But, in actual fact, no outbreak of rape attacks followed in either the Tatar capital or anywhere else, and it turned out that the evil rumor had been invented by a woman teacher at a school in the Moscow region to "keep the children at home at the end of term and force them to do their homework."

This kind of thing happens, of course. It makes arguments in favor of glasnost in everything connected with militia work all the more obvious.

Ukraine People's Restructuring Movement Meets

LD0702115289 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] General meeting of the Kiev city organization of the Ukraine Writers Union was held in Kiev. Discussed was the draft of the program of the People's Movement for Restructuring in Ukraine, a voluntary public organization. The draft was prepared by the initiatory group of the Kiev Writers Union.

Here is Radio Kiev's Oleh Manko:

[Manko] The draft as well as the view of the writers presented to the meeting evoked different opinions and hot exchange of views. This document touched upon widest issues of social life, ranging from ecology to the role of the writer in the process of perestroyka.

I would like to acquaint you with some quotes from speeches made at the meeting. Vyacheslav Lisavetskiy, of the Institute of Literature, was the first to take the floor.

[Lisavetskiy in Ukrainian, fading into superimposed English translation] There are several important issues I'd like to develop on constructively. There is no direct reference in the document to the leading role of the party, although all of us realize that the whole spirit of the document testifies that we acknowledge the leading role of the CPSU. And I ask to support and include the following provision: The relations with the Communist Party this People's Movement maintain, according to the Constitution of the USSR, Article VI.

[Manko] Next to take the floor was writer Dmytro Pavlychko.

[Pavlychko in Ukrainian, fading into superimposed English translation] Comrades, I think I never seen before such active discussion and approach based on communist ideals like I witnessed today in this hall because we all vow to the ideas of the party, the idea of perestroyka which embraces all our people to become a nationwide idea. This is the aim of our People's Movement. And when we have this organization created, we will further pursue the party line to the very core of human being by our work in press, our appearances at meetings and our literary word, said writer Dmytro Pavlychko.

[Manko] And here is Ukainian writer, Yuriy Shcherbak.

[Shcherbak in Ukrainian, fading into superimposed English translation] I think that today we had a very serious and substantial document. When we prepare a political document, we must approach it with political measurements in mind. And I see two principal shortcomings in the document. The first one is that it is too long and abundant with detalizations. [as heard] It should present the main guidelines. Secondly, I think that lawyers did not take part in its preparation. We have experts in matters of state and law. You know, this document sounds somewhat too categorical.

I think the main emphasis here should be made on the point that if we are restructuring the political system now and give real power to the soviets, we have to first and foremost underscore that the People's Movement supports this and will work within the framework of such political system. The history is ahead of us and we are taking part in making it. Let us take proper time. You know that haste is treason. And crimes which were committed beneath the banner of the revolution were committed by people who were in a hurry and fell into extreme. We should not act like that, said writer Yuriy Shcherbak.

[Manko] Then the floor was given to Leonid Kravchuk, head of the ideology department of the CP of Ukraine Central Committee.

[Kravchuk in Ukrainian, fading into superimposed English translation] Now, as far as the essence of the document is concerned, the main thing of course is how this political document corresponds to the existing political structure in our society, first of all with the Constitutions of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR. If we take, for instance, the general principle, it is stated that the People's Movement organizes its work in accord with the Constitution of the USSR and that of Ukraine. At the same time the program contains a number of provisions which do not agree with the fundamental law of the republic and the country. I want you to understand me: I am not against the document, I just want that its text be made with agreement of the positions and constructive cooperation with the organizations which will implement this document, underscored Leonic Kravchuk.

[Manko] The meeting arrived at the decision to assign the initiatory group, together with lawyers and economists, to put finishing touches to the document in order that the provisions would agree with the provisions of the Constitution and other legal norms of our state. After that the document will be published for a nationwide public discussion.

Ukraine Procurators Examine 1988 Results

AU0802133689 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY
in Russian 31 Jan 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "In the Ukrainian SSR Procurator's Office"]

[Text] An expanded session of the board of the Ukrainian SSR Procurator's Office, held recently with the participation of oblast, transport, and a number of city and rayon procurators, examined the results of the work performed by the republic's procuratorship organs in 1988, and the tasks set for supervision carried out by procurators under conditions of shaping a socialist law-governed [pravovoye] state. A report was delivered by V.A. Osipenko, Ukrainian SSR procurator.

The session was attended and addressed by A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR general procurator, and V.I. Ivashko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and second secretary.

It was noted that, under conditions of shaping a socialist law-governed state, the role and responsibility of the procuratorship had increased. The 19th all-union party conference set the task of fully restoring the Leninist principles of supervision carried out by procurators, who are called upon to ensure that the laws are strictly observed and uniformly interpreted and applied, and to persistently fight against the violations of socialist legality, no matter who the violators are. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic's government, and party and administrative organs in the field constantly help procuratorship organs to meet these requirements. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat examine issues concerning the state of legality and law and order. A contribution toward raising the level of supervision carried out by procurators was made by the November 1988 session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which discussed a report delivered by the republic's procurator on the problems of consolidating legality. All this has contributed to improving the situation.

At the same time, the work restructuring process in law-enforcing organs still has been slow. Many procurators, staff members of internal affairs organs, and judges have proved to be unprepared for work under conditions of democracy and glasnost, to have a poor sense of direction in complex situations, to be passive and disconcerted in action, and to adhere to formalism. Procuratorship organs do not always coordinate the efforts of law-enforcing organs to consolidate legality, law and order, to prevent offenses and criminality. All this affects the results of the struggle waged against crime. The number of offenses committed in the republic is not subsiding, the theft of state, public and private property, cruel acts of violence, robberies, and group crimes have increased in many oblasts, and the number of unsolved crimes has risen.

For law-enforcing organs, it was noted at the session, there is no task more important than to strengthen the protection of man's personality, life, and health, man's social rights and freedoms. Democratization does not imply a relaxation in the struggle against offenses and crime at all; on the contrary, in the period ot further expanding democracy and glasnost the strictest measures should be applied to those who violate legality and law and order.

Attention was called to the need to intensify the struggle against drunkenness, alcoholism, and drug addiction, to make this struggle more offensive, and to ensure that law-enforcing organs concert their actions with the public. In recent times, the vigor of this work has declined. Moonshine distilling is becoming widespread in many towns and villages. Persons in a state of intoxication are accountable for one-quarter of all crimes, including many serious crimes. At the same, time procuratorship organs in Sumy, Rovno, Kiev, Crimean, Lvov, and some other oblasts are inadequately monitoring the observance of anti-alcohol legislation.

Particularly disturbing is the growing delinquency among young people and teenagers. This is primarily the result of serious omissions in their education in families, at general education, vocational, and technical schools, and in production collectives. Substantial shortcomings have also been incurred in the work performed by law-enforcing organs, including procurators' offices. Supervision carried out by procurators is not always oriented toward preventing delinquency, and frequently its reaction to formalism in the activity of many militia inspectorates and teenagers commissions under local soviets is too mild.

A highly important task facing procuratorship organs, it was emphasized, was to be more attentive in ensuring that in state and economic organs, all officials comply with legislation in the socioeconomic sphere. In view of the economic reform launched in the country and the priority given to settling social problems, new attitudes also have to be assumed by law-enforcing organs. It is essential to give prominence to the observance of the law on the state enterprise, and to reliably protect legislative acts on economic reform against erosion by all kinds of departmental instructions. In this field there are still many violations, but the position adopted by procurators frequently turns out to be temporizing. Procurators' supervision of the compliance with the laws on the protection of socialist property has slackened in many oblasts. The damage caused in the republic by mismanagement, shortages, and theft of things of material value is not diminishing, and the steps taken to compensate for this are clearly insufficient, particularly in Sumy, Vinnitsa, and Donetsk Oblasts. Big losses caused by mismanagement and theft are being written off at the expense of the state and labor collectives. Last year, the practice of padding the accounts was revealed at many enterprises and projects in Vinnitsa, Voroshilovgrad, Lvov, Chernigov, and other oblasts, but, in compensating for the losses, procurators did not adhere to principles. Far from everywhere are those who supply substandard goods and violating delivery contracts being brought to account.

Supervision carried out by procurators is expected to protect the rights and normal operations of cooperative societies formed in the republic, on legal grounds. At the same time, it is essential to react sharply to violations of the law in their activity, to their being infiltratred by all kinds of dishonest people trying to enrich themselves by robbing the state and the working people, by profiteering, and by obtaining other unearned incomes. In recent times, law enforcing organs have brought to light many cases of this kind, but measures to curb them have not been taken everywhere. It is essential to bring to strict account not only cooperative workers who embarked upon the path of crime, but also officials who help establish dishonest cooperative societies and who have lost control over the latter's activity.

Insufficient efforts have been made by law enforcing organs in the field to eradicate numerous violations and abuses in the sphere of consumer, medical, municipal, and trade services. The problem of providing the population with consumer goods and food is at present acute. At the same time pilfering is on the increase, and profiteerers live and act as they please. There have been numerous citizens' complaints about this, but thus far there has been no evidence of an effective response to those complaints on the part of administrative organs, including the procuratorship.

Serious complaints were directed to procurators who work within transportation. Much unproductive demurrage has been permitted with regard to wagons on the Donetsk, the Dnepr Region, and the Odessa railroads, and the number of freight robberies increased in 1988. The accident rate is still high, particularly on the Odessa and the southwestern railroads. Procurators who work within transportation are expected to be more strict in assessing all these facts, to be more effective in monitoring, and to influence improvements in transport operations more radically.

There was a sharp discussion on the ways to intensify the struggle against the violations of legislation on the protection of nature. In a number of cities and rayons, the ecological situation continues to be complex. Metallurgical, chemical, and other enterprises discharge thousands of tonnes of harmful substances into the atmosphere and pollute reservoirs. Some ministries, departments, and economic leaders in the field are slow in taking measures to protect nature. In 1988, more than 5,500 officials were warned, brought to disciplinary or administrative account, or fined for having violated legislation on the protection of nature. Legal action was taken in 26 criminal cases. At the same time, the situation dictates that more legal measures be taken by procurators to prevent the violations of legislation on the protection of nature and to punish those who, as a result of negligence, indifference, or to suit departmental interests, seriously damage nature and people's health.

In securing equality for everyone before the law, procuratorship organs are expected to radically raise the level of work carried out to defend the rights and legal interests of citizens. In the year under review, the republic's procuratorship organs examined about 300,000 complaints and applications. In doing this, they found many deviations from the law, including hundreds of court sentences and decisions. Following 4,000 complaints, where working people's rights to labor, housing, pension, and other things had been violated, these were reinstated. The examination of complaints revealed leaders of enterprises, organizations, and institutions who, in many cases, were indulging in formalism and red tape. At the same time procuratorship functionaries do not always respond properly to citizens' applications. Now and then at the procurator's office, people do not find a protection against bureaucratism and arbitrariness, against those who violate their rights to work, housing, and other things. In some cases there are reprisals for criticism, while the procurator's position is one of non-interference.

It was emphasized that staff members of law-enforcing organs, including the procuratorship, were highly responsible for the strict observance of the law. The facts concerning the detention of citizens without grounds, of violation of the law in the course of an investigation and court hearing are to be assessed in adherence to principles. In recent times, young, energetic, but not always sufficiently experienced functionaries have been joining the procuratorship organs. They have to be taught and educated. The apparatus of the republic's procurator's office should be more vigorous in passing on experience accumulated in the field, particularly by city and rayon-level procurator's offices, and should continuously and pertinently assist the latter. Party committees are called upon to raise the level of political leadership in the activity of procuratorship organs, and to see to it that the principles of the procurators' independence are strictly observed.

In procuratorship activity it is highly important to enhance glasnost and democratic principles, to rely on labor collectives, to study and bear in mind the opinion of society. It is essential to speak, openly, about the violations of legality, the investigation of criminal cases, and the reinstatement of citizens' rights in step with current events. A lack of such information frequently generates rumors and conjecture. In the press, in television and radio broadcasts it is essential to air major problems concerning legal propaganda, to reveal the causes of negative phenomena, and to expose the perpetrators. The working people must be confident that the procuratorship is an organ that is accessible to them, and that in it they will find protection for their rights and legal interests.

Participating in the session were: A.S. Chumak, chief of the Public Law Department in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; N.M. Golushko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Security Committee; I.D. Gladush, Ukrainian SSR minister of internal affairs; V.I. Zaychuk, Ukrainian SSR minister of justice; Yu.G. Matveyev, Ukrainian SSR chief arbiter; and other responsible officials of the republic's law-enforcing organs.

Acts Renaming Facilities After Zhdanov Cancelled

AU0802144389 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 31 Jan 89 p 3

[Report signed by the "Information Sector of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers": "In the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] As reported, on 26 January the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers held a routine session.

In response to numerous working people's requests to cancel legal acts perpetuating the memory of A.A. Zhdanov, the republic's government has cancelled the 15 July 1968 decision of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers No 339 "On renaming Mariupol, Mariupol Port, and Sartana stations on the Donetsk railroad"; the 16 July 1970 decision No 359 "On creating the A.A. Zhdanov memorial house under the local lore museum in Zhdanov, Donetsk Oblast"; and also the paragraphs in the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers decisions of 2 July 1958, 26 January 1965, and 24 August 1982, with respective numbers 835, 98, and 434, renaming sovkhozes after A.A. Zhdanov.

Oblispolkoms, Kiev and Sevastopol Gorispolkoms have been instructed to examine the issue of canceling the decisions to rename kolkhozes and other organizations, avenues, squares, parks, and other facilities in localities after A.A. Zhdanov.

Contamination, Cleanup Around Chernobyl Reviewed

LD0802030489 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] It is almost 3 years since the Chernobyl nuclear accident in the Ukraine. What is the situation there like today? Our correspondent Vitaliy Gurov has this story:

[Begin recording] [Gurov] First of all, I'd like to dismiss rumors according to which the company that is at the moment decontaminating the 30 km zone around the nuclear plant has made plans to tear down all buildings in Chernobyl. These rumors have no leg to stand on. No such plans have been made. Twelve very old, privately-owned houses have indeed been torn down and their owners received compensation. In all 42 privately owned houses out of a total of 2,278 are to be torn down.

These houses were chosen because of their relatively high levels of contamination. Up to this point an area of 150 hectares has been decontaminated. One hundred fifty-thousand cubic meters of contaminated soil have been excavated and reliably buried. Sixteen kilometers of streets in the town were repaved with macadam and concrete. It is too early yet to make plans for bringing local residents back. In some places radiation levels are 10 to 15 times higher than normal. At the same time, the migration of radioactive elements in the environment in the Chernobyl area has increased of late. This means that produce grown locally cannot be eaten. This situation is likely to continue for several years to come. Unfortunately, some old people ignored the warnings and regulations and returned home. They cannot understand the risk that they are taking. To make things even worse, about 60 children remained with them last summer. The local government has tried very hard to persuade them to leave for new places of residence, but they would not move; now some legal action needs to be considered to induce them to leave for the sake of their own health.

No plans have been made to expand the Chernobyl nuclear plant. Construction of two more generating units has been suspended, and at the moment three generating units are in operation. [end recording]

Chebrikov Visits New Moldavian Electronics Plants

LD0802221289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report]

[Text] [Announcer] Viktor Mikhaylovich Chebrikov is in Moldavia:

Kishinev's building sites have moved from the estates on the outskirts to the center of the city, and outside its bounds contemporary works and factories are being built. [video shows cityscapes] This one, (Mezon), is the first in a new sector of Moldavia's industry: the electronics industry. Its products are of good quality. Also in demand are the consumer goods produced here, particularly domestic tape recorders. At a meeting with the workers and managers of the enterprise, Viktor Mikhaylovich Chebrikov drew attention to the fact that electronic goods are still proving expensive for the works, and costs are slow in being reduced. [video shows Chebrikov and others touring computer premises]

And this is its younger brother, but a giant in size: a factory to produce personal computers which is under construction. Not far away, Kishinev's satellite town is being built, for 100,000 residents, with a network of shops, schools, cinemas and kindergartens. And it is not being built on the arable land where part of the factory buildings were once considered worth placing, launching bulldozers among the vineyards. The residential areas, explain the proprietors, will be located on previously inconvenient empty sites. [video shows site being inspected by Chebrikov] It costs more, but the invaluable arable land is kept, which provides these foodstuffs to the Kishinev shops. [video shows scenes inside vegetable shop] Viktor Mikhaylovich Chebrikov also listened to observations from shoppers at these shops. There has now been a discernible increase in vegetables, fruits and salad items especially, but the range could be greater. Moldavia has had a several-fold expansion in hothouse and greenhouse farming, but tomatoes and cucumbers in covered gardens are widely available only in March and April, and sometimes later. [video shows Chebrikov among shoppers]

There are various reasons given, but the Institute of Plant Biological Genetics and its Biotron installation, which is the only one in the USSR, with whose work Comrade Chebrikov familiarized himself, are intended to accelerate the raising of new varieties and hybrids, high-yielders and earlies, both in hothouses and in open fields. So the scientists, too, should take up the shoppers' complaints. [video shows Chebrikov touring plant institute]

Moldavian CC Discusses Struggle Against Crime

PM0802145989 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 27 Jan 89 p 1

[ATEM report: "Conference at Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The problems of strengthening the socialist rule of law in the light of the 19th all-union party conference's demands were examined at a conference at the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee on 26 January. Party gorkom and raykom ideology secretaries, executives of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus, leaders of ministries, departments, the mass media, and propaganda, and workers of the republic's administrative organs were invited to attend.

The conference was opened by V.K. Pshenichnikov, second secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

The conference was addressed by A.F. Katusev, USSR deputy prosecutor general. He stressed that in recent years the struggle against crime in the country has slackened. In a number of parts of the country, Moldavia included, there has been an increase in negative tendencies contrary to society's interests and the socialist way of life. Considerable work has been done since the 27th CPSU Congress in strengthening the socialist rule of law and law and order. At the same time the level of crime remains quite high. In this connection there is an urgent need to carry out an extensive legal reform. It is designed to ensure the supremacy of the law in all spheres of society's life and reinforce the mechanisms for maintaining socialist law and order on the basis of the development of people's power. The main task is to help to strengthen law and order using a broad range of forms and methods of political and educational work. The speaker analyzed the state of the struggle against crime and violations of the law in the republic recently.

N.F. Bondarchuk, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the conference's work.

'Understandable Alarm' Over Kazakh Language Issue

PM0702123989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Undated interview with Ye. Auyelbekov, first secretary of the Kzyl-Orda Party Obkom, conducted by own correspondent E. Matskevich: "How We Are Seeking a Common Language"]

[Text] Kzyl-Orda—[Matskevich] Yerkin Nurzhanovich, the indigenous population makes up more than two-thirds of the oblast's inhabitants. Does such a correlation not create additional problems for the use of Russian on an equal footing with Kazakh?

[Auyelbekov] Language problems must not be viewed in isolation from history and social relations, which back at the dawn of Soviet power were pretty favorable. The transasian mainline, the mighty torrents of the Syrdarya, and the fish-rich Aral Sea attracted various nationalities here.

Now the Syrdarya, plundered for irrigation, and the Aral Sea catastrophe have led to migration and many settlements have fallen into neglect—in some of them there remains not a single person of nonindigenous nationality. So the danger of domination by the Russian language, which certain demagogues so love to talk about from various platforms, does not, frankly, pose a threat to us. Rather the contrary. The possibility of a certain part of the population finding itself in national self-isolation, sitting on the sidelines of great deeds, is generating perfectly understandable alarm.

The people are patient. There are people even living in the zones of environmental catastrophe. But danger creeps up from behind: Some rayons have "retired into their shells," as it were. Local favoritism, string-pulling, and promotion of cadres on the basis of family or clan affiliation have begun to appear. People of another nationality have found it impossible to survive in the remote regions. Add to this poor social organization, the neglect of medicine, and the shortage of housing. We inherited this from the years of stagnation. All these problems have in one way or another influenced the growth of language barriers and affected the valuable preparation of our young people for further education outside the oblast, for service in the Army....

[Matskevich] But there are problems, after all, in the use of the Kazakh language too....

[Auyelbekov] Undoubtedly. We have not avoided exaggerations here either. Various official measures have been conducted in Russian only. That has been the case with court proceedings and with education in certain schools. It is pointless to try to convince one another of the usefulness of maintaining and thoroughly studying the language of our forbears. This has long been clear. We are now making every effort to rid ourselves of previous errors.

It is important that the native language be imbibed with the mother's milk. But from the kindergarten and school and at the work place people of another nationality must also learn Russian. This is the only sensible course. Our salvation lies in bilingualism. This is the only basis upon which it is possible to live and create in our multinational state.

Today we take bilingualism as a basic condition when selecting and placing cadres. Although, to be blunt, the matter is very difficult. Of the oblast center leaders only one third understand the local language satisfactorily, roughly one fifth speak it poorly, while roughly half have no command of it at all.

[Matskevich] It is always difficult to make up what has been omitted. But the republic resolution on improving the study of Kazakh and Russian should have created a fertile soil here. The publication of new textbooks, dictionaries, phrase-books... has been planned.

[Auyelbekov] The overall attitude is, of course, encouraging. We, like everywhere in the republic, have set up interethnic relations commissions, which are particularly concerned with language policy. There are 489 Russian and 324 Kazakh language study groups in the oblast. The party obkom also has such groups. Intensive Russian language study courses have been started, where classes are run by skilled teachers. In educational establishments there are hundreds of language study centers, linguistic olympics are held, and more and more halls equipped with simultaneous-interpreting facilities are appearing. One day a week all pupils in Kazakh schools communicate among themselves solely in Russian. Many people study languages independently....

But as far as the promised educational information aids are concerned, there are not enough of them yet. There are too few textbooks, dictionaries, and phrase-books and not enough simultaneous-interpreting equipment. And yet it is now almost 2 years since the promising resolution on languages was passed. True, it is possible to increase the print runs and get hold of equipment in time, but what is to be done about teachers? We urgently need at least 470 teachers of Russian for national schools, and that is only one-third of the real requirement. The Kzyl-Orda teacher training institute won't be able to make up that shortfall in 5 years.

[Matskevich] How, then, are you overcoming these burdens, given such an impressive number of study groups and courses? Is there not formalism and the habitual positive reporting here?

[Auyelbekov] We are retraining practising teachers who graduated from teacher training colleges. We are recruiting former graduates who are not working in their specialist field. We are considering asking other VUZs in the republic and the country to give us help. Our plan is to bring the teaching staff fully up to strength in 2-3 years.

[Matskevich] Yerkin Nurzhanovich, you remarked that many people are studying languages independently—contact alone is not enough, you certainly need to read something in Russian, to keep up with periodicals. What, for example, is the subscription to central publications like in Kazakh rayons?

[Auyelbekov] As far as I know, the number of subscribers is growing daily. In Kazalinskiy Rayon, for example, 1,332 readers subscribed to PRAVDA or IZVESTIYA last year, this year's figure is already 1,910. However, that is 1 newspaper copy per 45 inhabitants on average. Not a lot, you might say. But we are talking about a rayon where the Kazakh language exercises its full-fledged function. Even court proceedings are held in it. In recent years the self-isolation of remote mountain villages has been given tacit consent: Keep your head down, listen to the orders from above, and carry them out. But in conditions of restructuring people are trying with increasing persistence to make use of its potential.

And how can you do that without a command of Russian? It is a truism that bilingualism has always benefited our people. The number of people with a command of Kazakh and Russian is growing all the time not only in the cities but in rural localities too. Only this process should be legitimated...

[Matskevich] What do you mean?

[Auyelbekov] I think that it is essential to draft and enshrine a constitutional program of national-Russian bilingualism and construct a developed language policy on this basis. Kazakh and Russian should become official languages for us. But against this background there should be no barriers to the study of the native language or the satisfaction of the cultural needs of the Uighurs, Koreans, Germans, Dungans, Turks, or other nationalities living in Kazakhstan.

Kzyl-Orda's future is bound up with industrialization. We are beginning to develop completely new industrial sectors—electronics, gas and petroleum, nonferrous metallurgy, and machine building. We will very soon require around 3,000 skilled workers. Will we really be able to train or even accept people without a knowledge of Russian? This may not altogether be part of the topic of our conversation, but I would like to say something in connection with the industrialization of our region. Despite the fact that there are several union ministries operating in the oblast today, not a single one of their leaders has found the time to place his exalted foot on the shores of the Aral Sea. And yet we have invited many of them. And more than once. A big boss rarely gets up from his comfortable chair, but out of ignorance of the true state of affairs at local level he blithely declines to solve issues of vital importance to the oblast.

Our fraternal peoples have one great channel, one fate shaped forever. But every channel has two great banks. If we erode one, there will be no river. For us our native language is one firm bank. The other is Russian—the universally recognized language of our interethnic relations. It is through it that we have access to the respect and understanding of the other peoples and partake of world culture. I see no other destiny.

Election of Krasnoyarsk Gorkom Official Viewed

PM0802103189 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Feb 89 p 1

[Report by Vitaliy Pyrkh: "Before Election"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk—In the fall rumors began to creep through Krasnoyarsk: They're going to replace the gorkom first secretary. Not elect him but replace him. The only candidate for the post was also named. The replacement of a party leader in a city with a population of 1 million is no ordinary event. And it happened soon after the CPSU Central Committee general secretary had visited the city. Not content with rumors, correspondents of the central newspapers working in Krasnoyarsk Kray met with CPSU Kraykom First Secretary O. Shenin.

There was plenty to talk about and many questions accumulated. Even now we see the 19th all-union party conference as a unique political rubicon. A keen struggle flared up at the time around the election of delegates. These were the first elections in which people who had formerly been dumb and indifferent suddenly found their voice. Here is how these voices sounded on the direct line which the kray party newspaper opened at the time.

"I consider it inexpedient to delegate two CPSU Kraykom secretaries—the first and second—to the conference. N. Kuklina, CPSU member since 1965."

"If I had the opportunity I would vote against the candidacy of Krasnoyarsk CPSU Gorkom First Secretary V. Kapelko. I have become convinced from my own experience that Communists who oppose shortcomings do not enjoy his support. V. Meskov, laboratory chief at the Krasnoyarsk No 54 agricultural vocational and technical college."

"We division veterans protest the candidacy of V. Kapelko, first secretary of the Krasnoyarsk CPSU Gorkom. He has cut himself off from people. O. Toroshchin, deputy chairman of the council of veterans of the 17th rifle division."

"We should nominate those who have shown themselves in our time—a time of changes—and who will not allow a return to the past, to the era of stagnation," the Krasnoyarsk people demanded in their appeals to the newspaper.

Yes, we were all faced with a choice at the time. Either we would travel the new, not really assimilated, path of democratization and glasnost or everything would return to normal.

Despite the numerous objections from city inhabitants, both Communists and nonparty people, V. Kapelko, first secretary of the Krasnoyarsk CPSU Gorkom, received a delegate's mandate and went to the party conference. But a few months later talk began about how the man who had led the city's party organization for many years intended to retire. So was his trip to the party forum something in the nature of a farewell gift?

Actually, that was not the main topic in the journalists' talk with the CPSU Kraykom first secretary. A debate flared up over the forthcoming election of V. Kapelko's successor. How is it possible in our time, the newsmen wondered, to offer a single nomination for the post of first secretary of the biggest city party organization in Central Siberia without consulting with rank and file Communists? Before the city report and election conference it would have been possible to ask the primary party organizations to give their views on the proposed candidacies. And for the contenders for the city's chief party post to address people. Meeting with the labor collectives to find out the workers' opinion would not have been superfluous. And was it necessary to operate using the same old, totally compromised, methods whereby the most important cadres questions were resolved not by rank and file Communists and not even by the party aktiv, but by a few people in the kraykom?

The party kraykom first secretary did not share our concern. Yes, the nomination for the post of CPSU Gorkom first secretary was the only one. But, he said, the party kraykom had worked hard before settling on it. Many options had been "given a whirl", as there was no shortage of contestants. One person was not suitable for one reason, someone else for another. So what if the candidate is an apparatchik, he said, and so what if Krasnoyarsk is a city with a population of 1 million... The party kraykom has not relinquished its powers in selecting candidates (we are all apparatchiks here) and the instructions operating in the party on this score have not been violated.

In general the talk was a difficult one. Difficult but necessary. Although, to be honest, I found personally that it demoralized me. And when a few days before the report and election city party conference a CPSU Gorkom plenum was held and elected a new first secretary I was not surprised. The ploy was a classic one: The Communists could not take to task the man who had stood at the party helm for so many years since he was no longer in charge. And it was still too early to take to task the man who had taken over from him...

Perhaps it was a coincidence, an irritating chance? Well, no. The picture was the same in Norilsk. Not long before the city party conference the former "first man" left for Moscow and his seat was taken by the former second secretary of the CPSU gorkom. But what, you say, would have changed if this inevitable if this inevitable rearrangement had taken place a day or two later, at the conference itself, in the presence of hundreds of Communists, both delegates and guests, and under conditions of diversity and pluralism of opinions?

But this turn of events evidently did not suit those who are reluctant to part with their power, who are reluctant to share it with rank and file Communists. Yes, the apparatus now is not what it was before. It has become numerically smaller and far more mobile. But in the main thing, in the style and methods of work, virtually nothing has changed. The apparatus has adapted to the new situation. A "danger" is drawing near—it already has ready a countermeasure whose aim is to preserve the status quo come what may. Obviously not everyone is yet succeeding in "mastering themselves" and renouncing existing stereotypes. Some apparatchiks are obviously rather afraid that the lower ranks may cease to be "obedient" during this among the people and that they may upset the nomenklatura "pack of cards" spread out in the quiet offices.

Some 6 weeks before the report and election party conference in Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon, for instance, an extraordinary event took place: The party raykom plenum elected a first secretary from three candidates. The winner was V. Lebedev, who outstripped his chief rival—S. Butenko, former chief of the CPSU Kraykom transport and communications department. These elections had extensive repercussions in the city. Both because they were truly democratic and because they were preceded by a broad election campaign. The contenders familiarized the Communists and labor collectives with their programs and spoke at enterprises. V. Lebedev's program evidently proved the most suitable.

But subsequently what happened was what should have happened in the spirit of long-standing tradition. The rayon conference came and at the conference the name of the new party raykom first secretary was not even included on the lists for the secret ballot! "He is switching to other work," was the answer to delegates who wondered about V. Lebedev's fate. And there was active agitation for the candidacy of S. Butenko. And he was elected first secretary. So people are saying that the kraykom apparatus will stick up for "its own people..."

Who will lead the Krasnoyarsk Communists—the apparatus henchmen or the people whom the primary party organizations are nominating from their midst, who are now being raised up by the restructuring struggle? "In my opinion we have the strength not only to blow the whistle but also to move along the rails of restructuring," was what M.S. Gorbachev said during his trip to Krasnoyarsk Kray. Of course we have this strength. But will we put it into operation if we transfer the old content even to new, democratic forms?

The 25th kray report and election party conference was held in Krasnoyarsk recently and these acute problems were heard again in its delegates' speeches.

"I should like to recall the recent elections to the Krasnoyarsk CPSU Gorkom and the election of the first secretary," A. Timoshenko, leader of a team of electrolysis workers at the aluminum plant, said from the conference rostrum. "The party organizations and workers' collectives learned of it as a fait accompli. Why should we not borrow the experience of Novosibirsk Oblast, where the discussion of several candidacies was conducted through the press, radio, and television?"

The situation is just the same with regard to the nomination of leading cadres in the kray's soviet organs. Here is how rayon soviet deputy V. Zemlyanukhin, leader of the state acceptance at the "Kraslesmash" plant, commented on this in the local press:

"I learned of the candidacy for the post of chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Gorispolkom just one day before the session and the whole city learned of it only after the official publication in the newspaper. At the session the former ispolkom workers were presented with flowers and thanked for 'the large amount of work they had done...'"

But was this "work done" so great after all? Who then constructed primarily prestige buildings—sports installations, a museum, a concert hall, and so forth—in the kray center? Why has the maternity home in the city's Oktyabrskiy Rayon been under construction for 20 years now while in terms of provision with housing the Krasnoyarsk people come virtually last among the krays and oblasts of the RSFSR? Surely that is not the way we will wean ourselves from eulogizing on any pretext?

Incidentally, Krasnoyarsk's former "mayor" is now deputy chairman of the krayispolkom. And his nomination for this post also took place in the quiet of offices. Without any reporting whatsoever to the population.

Ideological Foundations of Restructuring Stressed

PM0802110989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial under the rubric "Ideological and Moral Foundations of Restructuring": "Without Routine and Cliche"]

[Text] At turning points in history, when everything is bubbling and boiling in the cauldron of social and economic change, when obsolete things refuse to give in without a fight and far from everything to which we aspire takes on permanent form, and when unpredictable trends and phenomena sometimes appear in this seething mass—at stages such as these, work in the spiritual sphere, the adjustment of ideological concepts, and the affirmation of the ideological and moral foundation of renewal take on special, really decisive significance.

This is precisely the stage reached by our country today. Penetrating to the very heart of the people's life, the restructuring begun by the party has brought enormous social forces into play and revealed an extremely broad spectrum of opinions, beliefs, and appraisals. For the first time in many decades, what we call socialist pluralism has manifested itself in full in our social life. Ensuring the consolidation of all strata of Soviet society in these conditions and their maximum concentration on constructive processes and actions is now becoming the main task of party organizations' ideological work.

Tasks on this kind of scale naturally require that considerable amendments be made to the forms and methods of work and a new quality imparted to it. The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference and the political reform which now essentially embraces every sphere of social life serve as a compass for search in this direction. Does this search always bear fruit? Practice shows that firm success in ideological and political education is primarily achieved wherever people are determinedly eradicating dogmatism, cliche, and ritual in this work, are not afraid of views out of the ordinary or of problems being pointedly raised, and where the words of party or soviet workers, economic workers, and propaganda workers are definitely backed up by practical action and the solution of urgent labor and social problems.

But possibly the most important thing now for the party and ideological aktiv is to be constantly with people, to be thoroughly aware of their concerns rather than just reading about them on paper, and to share all joys and sorrows with them. Remember with what warm feelings of gratitude and appreciation the inhabitants of Armenian cities and villages devastated by the elements greeted the arrival of the country's party and government leaders and the rapid, decisive measures taken on their initiative to organize rescue work and eliminate the consequences of the earthquake. And meetings and conversations in plant workshops, kolkhoz livestock units, clubs, and places of residence are so useful for understanding the situation, the mood of the masses, and the real progress of the restructuring processes at grassroots level.

The improvements in the organization of ideological work are obvious. But the legacy from the era of stagnation is still making itself clearly felt in many places. This is evidenced by a considerable number of worrying letters in the editorial mail.

"To all appearances, democratization, glasnost, and innovation have not yet really affected the apparatus of the Kazachinskiy party raykom," T. Volkova, a teacher from Krasnoyarsk Kray, wrote. "Restructuring here mainly takes the form of meetings. In other words, pompous speeches and invocations from the rostrum on this subject suffice, while in real life everything remains the same, if not worse than before. The rayon authorities are not concerned about ordinary people and do not show enough respect. Our people can endure a great deal, of course, but it really becomes very difficult when you feel that elsewhere life is moving ahead, while all we can see in front of us is a blind, impenetrable wall."

Here is more evidence from the other end of the country, Kaliningrad. V. Koval, a mechanic at the "Zaprybkholodflot" Administration, complains that party workers are not in evidence at the rallies and meetings sometimes held in the city to discuss painful ecological issues, the neglected communal system, and the poor trade network. "Where are all the political fighters and agitators who are supposed to explain the situation to the masses and wage war on the demagogues?" the author of the letter asks. "I suppose they are educating each other, as they did in the old days."

To be frank, the conclusions drawn by the authors of these letters are not very flattering. What is more, frankly speaking, these conclusions do not only apply to the regions and party committees in question. You can see from Communists' letters and from the material on the party report and election conferences published in the press that the sphere of ideological and moral education is still far from being the object of in-depth party analysis in every case.

What is more, even in the present election campaign, which, by virtue of its openness and active democratic principles, has essentially become a clear illustration of the new restructuring atmosphere, recurrences of excessive organization and "closed shop" decisions are still creeping through from time to time. We can see how difficult some working people, including those holding responsible positions, are finding it to overcome the notions formed many years ago by the ideology of the "Short Course." The fear that "no good will come of it" is still rooted in the minds of many, sometimes determining their decisions and actions. Voices are heard from all corners, talking about the collapse of spiritual and moral values and about how we are supposedly deviating from socialist principles and ideals by introducing economic accountability, the lease contract, and cooperatives. And this is happening at the very time when we are trying to revive these principles in their original, undistorted, Leninist form, cleanse Soviet society of voluntarism, corruption, and double standards, give socialism a really humane face, and build a life worthy of the people living it.

This is where we are faced with one of the paramount tasks of ideological work—cultivating high standards of socialist democracy. The acute shortage of these high standards is beyond doubt. As was noted at the recent meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with scientific and cultural figures, this has affected, in particular, the abnormal relations that have existed for some time in certain circles of the creative intelligentsia. Some people are substituting the honest battle of different opinions and the instructive comparison of arguments, ideas, and concepts with mutual recriminations, wrangling, and settling scores. And all this is spilling into the newspapers and journals. But pluralism of opinions certainly does not liberate people of all responsibility and of the need to observe elementary political and moral standards. Democracy and responsibility, rights and obligations are indivisible in the society we are building.

All this also fully applies to work concerned with international education and to debates and discussions connected with interethnic relations and the solution of the problems that have accumulated in this sphere. It is the duty of party organizations and the ideological aktiv to do their utmost to support and develop everything positive that could serve to harmonize these relations. And it goes without saying that everything that leads to inflamed nationalist feeling, mutual discord, and ethnic insularity is most definitely unacceptable.

We are living at a great time. Once again we are traveling through virgin territory. But, for all the complexity and seriousness of the problems which arise, we are opposed to apathy, panic, pessimism, and, incidentally, reckless haste. However difficult the situation, or living, creative Marxism-Leninism will always be a reliable reference point on our journey, while the strong will and awakened activeness of the Soviet people have always been and remain the guarantee of our success.

AIDS Expert Urges Universal Preventive Measures

LD0802145689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0330 GMT 8 Feb 89

[From the "120 minutes" program]

[Text] [Presenter] The guest on our program today is head of the central scientific research laboratory for AIDS epidemiology and prophylaxis, Candidate of Medical Sciences Vadim Valentinovich Pokrovskiy. Vadim Valentinovich, a question for you straight away: How could the events in Elista happen? This is a subject which literally still disturbs public opinion, although about 2 weeks have passed since 27 small children and 5 mothers were infected.

[Pokrovskiy] Well, I have to say that the cause, of course, lies in the poor state of our medicine. The point is that, in general, the equipment of our health service leaves much to be desired. We don't have disposable syringes, the demand for disposable instruments is far from being satisfied, and what's more, we have quite a number of bad medical staff who carry out their duties negligently. It was actually criminal negligence that occurred in Elista, and maybe occurs in other regions, too, and that led in this case to the infection of small children with the AIDS virus.

[Presenter] Vadim Valentinovich, are there precise figures for those infected with this virus to date?

[Pokrovskiy] In our country there are 146 Soviet citizens who are officially registered as carriers of the virus, and we will report a further 4 cases today, so to date there are 150 cases of infection of Soviet citizens registered. But it is possible, of course, that there are in fact more.

[Presenter] Vadim Valentinovich, I have this question for you. After Central Television showed a program on AIDS, there were many different views and false interpretations, but in our country something on the order of 15 million people have been checked. Of those, 12 million were donors, and about 150 cases of AIDS infection have been discovered. Clearly, it can be concluded from this that in the country as a whole there are now about 4-5,000 people who are infected but don't know it. Is that so? Your personal opinion.

[Pokrovskiy] Yes, quite correct. We're talking about thousands, actually thousands of people—within the range of 1-10,000 infected.

[Presenter] And, in your view, what can be done in order to bring those people to light as quickly as possible? What measures?

[Pokrovskiy] You see, it isn't at all the right approach that all those infected absolutely have to be brought to light. The main thing is to prevent other people from becoming infected by them. In this regard a check of donated blood is being carried out, that is of each donor when he gives blood, and apart from this, a wide-ranging propaganda campaign is under way on safe sexual behavior. I was wrong, by the way, to say it was wide-ranging, because in fact this is characteristic of temporary campaigns in our country; we don't do it seriously.

[Presenter] But people who are infected with the AIDS virus and don't know it, from my point of view, in any case present a certain threat.

[Pokrovskiy] The point is that the threat is presented not by people but by incorrect behavior. He, too, doesn't know that he's infected, and say, another person doesn't know that his partner is infected. So, obviously, everyone has to take preventive measures, and only then will we prevent the spread of infection by this route.

[Presenter] I'll go back to what happened in Elista now. Although the causes have yet to be finally established, nevertheless, from your point of view, what punishment should be applied to the culprits? In effect, they have on their consciences the lives of very many people, even if not all of those infected actually develop AIDS.

[Pokrovskiy] Well, the criminal code has a certain article called "criminal negligence."

[Presenter] Is there only that article?

[Pokrovskiy] They should bear the appropriate serious consequences. It's quite obvious. We have punishments for deliberate infection with AIDS virus, but in this case, of course, it was not deliberate.

[Presenter] And the last question, if we can be brief: What are the most immediate measures which now have to be taken to fight this disease, in your view?

[Pokrovskiy] As concerns this specific case, it is necessary to sharply raise the level of control over sterilization and disinfection in medical hospitals. Secondly, it is necessary to begin without delay production of disposable medical instruments on a scale corresponding to our standards in medical treatment in our country. And the third thing I think to be most important now is engaging in a study of safe sexual behavior, because it's very difficult to control this route, and here, I repeat, everyone has to take part personally in this control, and for this, everyone has to know how to do it.

[Presenter] And I shall add, for my part, that glasnost is clearly a matter of no small importance, and we must speak as much as possible and write as much as possible about AIDS.

[Pokrovskiy] Quite so.

Rostropovich, Wife Reinstated in Composers' Union

LD0802190889 Moscow TASS in English 1859 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 8 TASS—Famous cellist and conductor Mstislav Rostropovich has been reinstated in the USSR composers' union, a secretary of the board of the organisation announced at a news conference in Moscow today.

Rostropovich and his wife Galina Vishnevskaya, a singer, were stripped of Soviet citizenship in 1978 while on a tour of the United States.

They were also stripped of all their honorary titles marking their contribution to the development of Soviet art. Rostropovich was expelled from the composers' union.

The union in a message to Rostropovich announced the decision to restore his membership.

New Political Biography of Bukharin Reviewed

PM0802145589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

[Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor G. Petryakov book review: "Nikolay Bukharin"]

[Text] This book (footnote) (I.Ye. Gorelov. Nikolay Bukharin. Moscow. Moskovskiy Rabochiy, 1988, 284 pp) is one of the first Soviet works of history for many years devoted to the objective recreation of Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin's political biography.

In demonstrating the revolutionary and political activity of Lenin's prominent associate, the author briefly analyzes his historical, philosophical, and economic works. The research framework is widened by the inclusion in the book of several works from Bukharin's published legacy.

It places before the reader a politician, prominent party theorist, and major ideological worker. It talks, for example, about N.I. Bukharin's close cooperation wuth V.I. Lenin in devising the Second Party Program—the socialist building program (Bukharin was on all three preparatory commissions).

V.I. Lenin used to call Bukharin the most valuable and most important party theorist. But he also noted his passion for the abstract and academic, and his sometimes insufficiently deep knowledge of dialectics. The author of the book notes that it is wrong to regard

Lenin's assessments as dogmatic and tendentious. As was done in Stalin's time, and, indeed, later. Indeed Bukharin's views of many problems and his ideas developed and reflected changes in reality and social practice.

The book under review reflects Bukharin's work on PRAVDA, which he edited for around 12 years, beginning in December 1917, on IZVESTIYA, and on the journal BOLSHEVIK, the party theoretical organ, which first came out under Bukharin's editorship in April 1924.

Bukharin's observations on the need to develop historical knowledge, which are cited in the book, have a topical ring to them. He claimed that history "cannot be learned in leaps and bounds" and that the development of historical science requires the training of numerous specialist cadres. Scientific work is "judged by scientific results, not by the quantity of resolutions on the current stage in the historical process" (p 159).

The author notes that he does not claim to have made a full and complete analysis. There will be more books yet about Bukharin—revolutionary, politician, theorist, and publicist.

Restrictions on Private Book Publication Relaxed

LD0802175289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1254 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 8 Feb (TASS)—A fresh step on the road to democratizing publishing has been made in the USSR: restrictions concerning the publication of books at the author's expense, which already goes on, have been lifted. This was reported today at a news conference here by Mikhail Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade.

The idea of publishing books at the author's expense was put forward long ago. Such suggestions were coming from writers, especially young ones, and from scientists and specialists. These wishes were met. To date, Nenashev said, more than 50 books have been published at the author's expense. However, until now it has not been permitted to publish sheet music, albums, booklets, posters, and postcards. Now this too is permitted. Henceforth, authors may conclude a contract with the all-union international book association for marketing their works abroad.

Another innovation is that publications at the author's expense may now be financed by the publishing houses themselves and by other state enterprises, creative unions, public organizations and cooperatives that act as sponsors.

The issue of books and other printed material at the author's expense is one of many measures undertaken in the USSR toward democratization in the publishing sphere. The practice of electing heads of publishing houses, rather than appointing them as previously, and of competitive filling of leading posts, is becoming ever wider. The rights of publishing houses have also been expanded.

The USSR is one of the world's biggest publishers. Over 80,000 books and brochures with total editions of over 2 billion copies are published here annually.

Economic

Pricing Official Comments on Government Decree

PM0802164789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with I.I. Gorbachev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices, by B. Mikhaylov: "Barrier to Prices. I.I. Gorbachev, Deputy Chairman of USSR State Committee on Prices Comments on USSR Council of Ministers Resolution"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] It seems that the overwhelming majority of Soviet people are now delightedly acquainting themselves with the USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Eliminate Shortcomings in the Prevailing Practice of Price Formation." This broad range of measures aimed at stabilizing prices that are subject to unwarranted ad hoc increases is the first to have been adopted for many, many years. This is yet another weighty illustration of the determination of the party and the government to prevent the economic reform being launched in our country from reducing the population's standard of living to any degree. We asked I.I. Gorbachev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices, to comment on the decisions adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Mikhaylov] Ivan Ivanovich! Fairly recently you assured us that prices would remain stable in our country, whereas in fact they have constantly increased and everyone has seen this. Now that the myths of the past few years have been dispelled, could you give a quantitative assessment of this negative process that we hardly welcome. I hope that this is no secret now.

[Gorbachev] Of course not! What secrets are there now? But I would like you to see the utter complexity of the process that you have mentioned. During the current 5-year plan centralized list prices have changed only once—in 1986 when prices for alcoholic beverages were raised and prices for many industrial goods, above all children's goods, were reduced. Nevertheless, if we just exclude vodka and wine from our calculations, the retail price index totaled 102.4 percent in 1987 in comparison with 1985, including 103.3 percent for food goods. Percentage increases are generally considerable but I would not begin to wholly put them in a bad light. I would venture to say that this is not all detrimental to the customer. Is demand for color televisions rising? Yes and the number produced is rising and they are triple the price of black-and-white televisions; correspondingly, the average cost of a television has risen by 15 percent. I think that it is unfair of us to complain about this.

At the same time—the resolution mentions this directly—a considerable proportion of so-called new and fashionable output is in effect no different at all from the old output and is more costly. At the same time cheap goods that are in demand "are being wiped out." For instance, you can't buy a bar of soap in Moscow for less than 80 kopeks. We are all in favor of cost recovery and self-financing but not at the expense of our pockets. Evidently, we must constantly be mindful of the fact that the largely healthy desire for greater profitability may give rise to self-seeking trends and group egoism: Instead of enhancing the quality of goods and reducing their prime cost and then the actual cost, enterprises are simply inflating it. This must be resisted—and resolutely at that: We have no right to leave the customer alone with the market. All states, including developed capitalist states, regulate prices in one way or another.

[Mikhaylov] I would like to know: Where have people been particularly zealous in adjusting their financial position at the expense of the people?

[Gorbachev] There are loads of examples. The USSR Ministry of Grain Products even involved bread in the price drive. I will not dispute that in 1986 it was in fact decided to produce six new varieties of high-quality bread. Yet there were no plans for additional budgetary receipts, and none were forthcoming. Authorization has only just been given to refund enterprises' additional expenses. But what happened? Many bakeries began to supply practically the same bread but at higher prices. That kind of outrage has now been stopped.

[Mikhaylov] Ivan Ivanovich! As far as I am aware the resolution that has just been published has to some extent already been fulfilled and was preceded by a number of decisions on particular issues.

[Gorbachev] Quite right. Last October and November the USSR Council of Ministers approved measures aimed respectively at broadening the production of children's goods and expanding production of goods for the elderly at socially low prices. In particular it has been established that (collarless) coats and short coats for the elderly will now cost no more than R100; woollen suits, dresses, and trousers no more than R80, R45, and R23 respectively; and coats and raincoats no more than R55 and R65. There will once again be men's shirts for R6, boots for R40, and slippers, half-boots, and bootees for R8 will appear again. And so on.

[Mikhaylov] What else will this resolution give our family budgets?

[Gorbachev] A mass of expensive trademarks like "OM," "VK," "MOL," and others are being eliminated; they confused the customer by allowing ordinary goods to be passed off as something out of the ordinary. There are only two indexes left—"N" and "D"—that give the right to use interim and contract prices. The markup on goods bearing the "N" index has been reduced to 15 percent and the period during which an enterprise can receive this markup—with certain exceptions—has been reduced from 2 years to 1 year. Effectively a load of goods will become appreciably cheaper in the very near future and as a result customers will, according to rough estimates, save no less than R300 million. On light industry goods alone.

In the future only those production collectives that ensure an ever increasing rise in the consumer qualities of their goods will obtain an opportunity to employ interim and contract prices.

[Mikhaylov] How will this be achieved?

[Gorbachev] The Law on the State Enterprise and now the resolution have made the penalties for unwarranted price hikes stiffer. Everything previously boiled down to confiscating the illegal income; this sum is now doubled—that is, R1 in fines also has to be paid for every speculative ruble. We see our task as being to ensure that the economic sanctions provided by the law for breaches of state price discipline are irreversible.

Let me also point out that if a manufacturing enterprise or the developer of a product is to blame for an article failing to meet the promised parameters, the consumer can demand that his surplus payment be refunded. As for cheap goods, the state order system will ensure that they are produced.

A particularly large number of recriminations have recently been directed at cooperatives and the vegetable trade. In order to establish order there, the Council of Ministers resolution authorizes republic and local organs of power to establish seasonally differentiated maximum prices on potatoes and fruit and vegetable output. This restriction is compulsory for all state trade irrespective of its controlling authority. You have already read that control over cooperative prices and tariffs on services has also sharply increased.

[Mikhaylov] Organs of Soviet power—you are also aware of this, Ivan Ivanovich—also don't care very much for consumers' interests since they have been infected with departmentalism. Last fall tomatoes in Moscow rotted and depots rejected them, but the Moscow Gorispolkom did not reduce prices on them any more than usual....

[Gorbachev] It goes without saying that everything is not that simple here. That is why consumers' societies are also being set up. Trade unions are stepping up worker's control over the consumer market. Moreover, a statewide system of price control is being organized: We will now have inspections in oblast centers and there will be price inspectors in cities with a population of more than 50,000.

[Mikhaylov] Ivan Ivanovich! Unsatisfied consumer demand has reached R70 billion in our country. A state budget with a large deficit has been ratified and everything that we have mentioned here can only increase it still further. Money coming into the budget will undoubtedly decrease. It looks as though the action program proposed by the USSR Council of Ministers resolution will require considerable additional funds. Where do you propose to get them from?

[Gorbachev] The state is in fact going to considerable extra expense just to ensure that there is no unwarranted price increase. It is exceptionally important to ensure that economic reform does not cause the population economic damage, otherwise it will be difficult to achieve the main aim, which is to free and unfetter productive creative forces within society.

Approximately R4 billion will be earmarked for children's goods and goods for the elderly. The Council of Ministers has accepted the AUCCTU's proposal to use its funds to stimulate the production of goods sold at socially low prices.

[Mikhaylov] Attempts to hamper the price increase, Ivan Ivanovich, were also made before but they generally ended in failure since the steps envisaged were primarily administrative. Orders and edicts almost always come out the losers when competing with economic interests. If enterprises manufacturing children's pants and grannies' bathrobes suffer material damage, no one will work there and simply nobody will be able to fulfill the strict state order. Everything indicates that this resolution envisages this danger and is endeavoring to prevent negative social consequences.

[Gorbachev] I would say that that is one of its main merits. To be honest, I can't remember another resolution that relied so consistently and steadfastly primarily on economic measures for pressure. It is more profitable today to make grannies' bathrobes and children's pants than fashionable slippers: State subsidies enable the profitability of output destined for children and pensioners to rise to 20-25 percent, whereas profitability is often no more than 14 percent or so in light industry. Enterprises producing outerwear and footwear for our grandmothers and grandfathers have been authorized, moreover, to channel all the profits they have received above the previous year's level into economic incentive funds in accordance with the normatives. We are endeavoring to ensure in all other cases that cheap output is as equally profitable as costly output. Substantial budgetary privileges are also accorded to enterprises that conscientiously and fully fulfill the state order; they will now be able to increase their profits by 30 percent.

We abide by the same principles in relations with trade. As you know, people were hitherto prepared to agree to any contract prices in stores. That is why prices still rose and trade was, in effect, indifferent as to how much anything cost. Everything will be different now. Trade enterprises have been given an increased trade rebate. If a commodity doesn't sell and finds no market, they have to assume all the losses when they reduce the price.

[Mikhaylov] The USSR Council of Ministers resolution indicates directly that price increases were possible owing to the monopoly position of the overwhelming majority of our producers. At present this monopoly still exists, and attempts to exploit its advantages will be made over and over. Thus, competition is the most reliable and automatic price regulator and stabilizer, and the prime source of this must be cooperatives. However, departments are now endeavoring to exploit the recent prohibitions on some types of cooperative activity in order to eliminate and harm their potential rivals. You have probably heard, Ivan Ivanovich, that the chairman of the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade agreed at a press conference to ensure that cooperative workers are only urged to print unprofitable publications. Dumas and Pikul [name as transliterated] are for the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, while works of pulp fiction and triumphant self-glorifying reports by officials of various ranks are for cooperative workers. Isn't that the case?

[Gorbachev] Of course not. We can't allow such differentiation under any circumstances; that would ruin and discredit the very idea of cooperatives. Certainly the Council of Ministers resolution—let me repeat once more—unconditionally bars the way to speculation and self-seeking. It is inadmissible when 1 kg of shashlik is sold for R20-25. Such cases should be regarded as a kind of economic extortion, blackmail in effect: A man rushing round Moscow is starving, there are lines for food everywhere, he's prepared to spend any money just to have a quick snack without wasting time. It is our direct duty to protect customers from these attempts on their purse.

However, the Council of Ministers resolution opens up new prospects for cooperative workers and grants them a whole series of comparatively new privileges. Wholesale and small-scale wholesale state trade bases, consumers' cooperatives, enterprises, organizations, and establishments have been allowed to issue cooperatives by written order with an adequate range of goods. If cooperatives work with enterprises under contract and give them their output, they are entitled to obtain raw materials and semimanufactures from wholesale bases minus the increased coefficients [povyshayushchyye koeffitsiyenty].

That is the most important thing that I should say about the new resolution. We have a great deal, a very great deal, of work ahead of us: It is hard to combat trends that have taken root over almost 25 years but we have no right to lose this duel, we must curb and halt the unwarranted price increases at all costs. This task is one of the important components of our economic reform and we will thus reveal still further its humanist character.

Siberians Question Industrial Projects

PM0702092589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Yu. Perepletkin report under the rubric "News Panorama": "Ecology of the Region: Present and Future"]

[Text] Tyumen Oblast—A public meeting has been held in Tobolsk to discuss ecological problems. The aim was to obtain as much information as possible about the petrochemical enterprises being built on the oblast's territory.

It is a well-known fact that Western Siberia supplies foreign consumers with large amounts of oil and natural gas. A popular example is the paradoxical fact that rivers of hydrocarbon raw material leave plants in the Ob region, bound for distant processing plants, and then return to Siberia in the form of gasoline, diesel fuel, and other products, overburdening transport. This is nothing but a scandalous example of bad management. So where does the answer lie? In the intensive development of the local oil- and gas-processing industry. Logical? Perfectly logical.

But last summer, when the news broke of the plans to build several large complexes in Western Siberia, the hitherto peaceful Tyumen Oblast literally exploded and began to seethe. The "ecology rallies" have shown very clearly that, without the support of the population, no projects affecting the future of the region will get through anymore. An example: Under public pressure, the construction of a planned fertilizer plant in Yarkovskiy Rayon was prohibited.

Now, on the basis of local bodies' opinion, the decision has been taken in principle to build processing complexes in Surgut, Novyy Urengoy, Nizhnevartovsk, Tobolsk, and Uvat. Many questions are still open at the moment, however. There is still no technical and economic substantiation—not even any plan layouts—and, in addition, the technology has not been decided on or all the sites chosen.

Meanwhile, the echo from the "ecology rallies" is far from faint. In the local press, on radio and television, and at all manner of meetings worried Siberians are asking the question: What do these plants have in store for our region? In this connection, reports were heard from the leaders of all five complexes at the Tobolsk meeting of members of the central mass media, representatives of informal associations, soviet and party bodies, extradepartmental control subdivisions, VUZ lecturers, scientists, construction workers, and specialists in various fields.

As one of the speakers pointed out, the question is not whether the complexes should exist or not. The most important thing is the nature and location of these complexes.

"It is not important what you call today's meeting," V. Kitayev, secretary of the Tyumen CPSU Obkom, said. "I believe we must take every opportunity to exchange opinions about the forthcoming construction work. First of all, this stops the spread of rumors, which are sometimes highly improbable. And, second, accurate information reduces the number of people who reject the idea of any development of the region 'out of hand.'"

Any significant changes in Western Siberia are bound to be constantly monitored by the public.

Agricultural

All-Union Food Production Conference Concludes

Ligachev Speaks; Shcherbitskiy Present

LD0802225589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The all-union seminar devoted to the issues of party control in the area of developing the food complex continued today.

[Correspondent Ye. Sinitsyn; identified by caption] Having started their work in Kharkov, participants in the seminar continued it in Belgorod. Today they are back in Kharkov. There are new addresses of advanced achievements and new encounters.

[S. Medvedev, identified by caption] Today participants in the conference started their working day with a visit to the complex of vegetable storehouses in the village of Vasishchevo. Six out of nine of Kharkov's fruit and vegetable combines have their storehouses here. They are all equipped with artificial cooling systems. This season 60,000 tons of fruit and vegetables have been stored in here.

Handling operations are fully mechanized here, thanks to the help of the town's enterprises. Through this and the use of new methods of storage, drying, and ventilation, over the last 3 years losses have been reduced by five times. Before the final plenary session, participants in the conference also visited the Kharkov dairy combine and a meat-processing plant. For the last several years these major enterprises have been using waste-free technologies, and this makes it possible to increase production. [passage omitted]

[Sinitsyn] In the afternoon, a final meeting took place in the house of political education. Comrades Ligachev, Nikonov, Vlasov, and Comrade Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, are among the presidium. [video shows audience, presidium, Ligachev addressing the audience]

The speakers described their impressions and the experience they acquired there. [video show speakers at the rostrum] Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev summed up the results of the seminar.

[Begin Ligachev recording] I would like to say the following. I don't doubt that I express our common view that here we all felt once again how work aimed at resolving the food issue acquires a truly nationwide character. The party has proclaimed: Provision of the country's population with food in sufficient quantities and of good quality is becoming the most topical and extraordinary social and political task. It is important to attract the whole production and intellectual potential of our economy—specifically, that of the country's towns and industrial centers—to the solution of this issue. You and I have become convinced of the expediency of such an approach based on the examples of the towns of Kharkov and Belgorod. We have become convinced once again of the enormous political creative force of the union of the working class, the peasantry, and intelligentsia.

Now comrades, when qualitatively new tasks are facing agriculture and the whole agro-industrial complex, life calls for fundamentally new approaches to organizing links between the town and the village, the working class and the peasantry. The essence of such approaches consists in attracting on a larger scale the entire production, scientific, and technical potential accumulated in the town toward solving the food question. We became convinced once again here that the contribution of our current industry to the village can and must become considerably weightier than it has been until now. At present, our state and our society have such opportunities.

Apart from that, I would like to reiterate that we are obliged to do this by the fact that at one time the peasantry and the village shouldered a huge proportion of the efforts aimed at the country's industrialization and the reconstruction of the national economy after the Great Patriotic War. Over the period from 1925 to 1940 about R50 billion was allocated to the national economy of towns as capital investments, and as little as R7 billion to agriculture. In the post-war years, from 1946 to 1960, R55 billion was allocated to the village, whereas nearly R300 billion was allocated to other branches of the national economy. Please notice that over the last 25 years the rural population in Russia and the Ukraine has dropped by 25 million.

The opinion can now be heard more and more often—and this was mentioned at the 19th all-union party conference, too—that the time has come to repay debts to the village. Here is what I would like to draw your attention to: From my viewpoint, there must be the following common feature in this—namely, the creation in every town of a public atmosphere giving priority to solving the food problem. [video shows Ligachev speaking] [end recording] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 2100 GMT on 8 February reports that V.V. Shcherbitskiy participated in the seminar]

Further on Ligachev Speech

LD0802184989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1647 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Kharkov, 8 Feb (TASS)—The tasks of party and local Soviet bodies of towns in solving the food problem were examined at a 3-day all-union seminar which concluded its work in Kharkov today.

Speaking at its conclusion, Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed that the food question is becoming the most burning and most extraordinary sociopolitical task.

He noted the importance of solving such problems as technically reequipping agriculture, socially transforming the countryside, providing good quality conditions of life and work for people in rural areas, creating up-to-date bases for food storage, technical reconstruction, and developing the processing industry. The CPSU Central Committee secretary spoke about the need to attract the intellectual forces of towns to develop production and culture in the countryside and also about the importance of consolidating an equal exchange between town and village and the elimination of "discrepancies" between prices for agricultural and industrial production.

In conclusion, Yegor Ligachev noted that it is very important that the measures being taken to raise production efficiency in kolkhozes and sovkhozes and other enterprises of the agro-industrial complex on the basis of economic methods of management be reinforced by the whole might of cities and the country's industrial centers. In the final analysis this would lead to a speedy improvement in providing food supplies to the population.

[Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 8 February in the Vremya newscast reports that V.P. Nikonov and A.V. Vlasov attended the final meeting of the seminar]

1988 Grain Harvest 25.6 Million Tonnes Short

PM0802153389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[PRAVDA Agro-Industrial Department commentary: "Grain Producers Are Waiting for Spring. Preparations for the Future Harvest Are the Theme of the Survey"]

[Excerpt] February's warm weather has reminded farmers that spring is on the way. Everyone involved in the fate of the future harvest is worried by questions such as: How has equipment been organized? And is there enough seed and fertilizer? Not only natural forces but also the new sociopolitical situation in the country are rousing the countryside today and giving rural workers the confidence to push ahead.

So, what has the agro-industrial complex brought with it into the next agricultural year? Since the beginning of the 5-year plan agricultural output increased by 9 percent. The increase is still not enough to meet the population's meat, milk, and other basic product requirements. Whereas most livestock units are working smoothly, stability has not been secured in crop growing. The harvests are very diverse, and by and large the lag is considerable. Last year crop growers reduced output to the value of R2.6 billion. Some 25.6 million tonnes of grain alone failed to reach the state granaries. That is why grain has once again had to be imported from abroad.

Complex weather conditions have, indisputably, made an impact on the results. However, now the crop growers' arsenal contains all the requisite elements to ensure that the influence of climatic adversities is reduced to a minimum. Unfortunately, not everyone takes these opportunities. For instance, take intensive technologies. The areas under intensive technologies are growing every year. They are provided with additional machines, fertilizers, and chemicals. What of the return? It is falling in a number of areas. Poor use is being made of the resources allocated. [passage omitted]

Agricultural Developments Reported for 2-8 Feb

LD0902050189

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, from 2 to 8 February. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

2-3 February

No fileworthy items monitored.

4 February

The total area devoted to autumn grain fields in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Azerbaijan amounts to 500,000 hectares. Barley has been sown on 174,000 hectares for green fodder. (Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT)

5 February

Kurgan Oblast plans to increase its grain production by 1.5 times over the next 3 years of the 5-year period. As a result of a low level of agrotechnology and seedbreeding, there has been a shortfall of more than 2 million tonnes of marketable grain. Mineral fertilizers, pesticides, and other materials required for grain production by intensive technology have been lacking. (0700)

7-8 February

No fileworthy items monitored.

*Tselinograd Oblast Triples Vegetable Output

18240041 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by O. Stefashin: "Gardens in the Steppes"]

[Text] Tselinograd Oblast—Last summer Tselinograd streets reminded one of southern bazaars: there was brisk trade in vegetables and fruits. On the counters there were pumpkins, zucchini, eggplants, summer squash, green peppers, apples, cucumbers, tomatoes and, of course, various kinds of relishes.

Even 2 years ago Tselinograd residents had never dreamed of such a thing. Not to mention the fact that the abundance of fruits and vegetables are of local origin.

But that was in the summer. And how do the counters of the Tselinograd stores look in the winter? In the Raduga store they have pickled watermelon (at 2 rubles 60 kopeks for a 3-liter jar) on the shelves right next to canned zucchini, several kinds of sauerkraut, pickled and marinated cucumbers, tomatoes, and vegetable salads. Nearby is a large selection of juices and fresh flowers.

There are also fresh vegetables here. The policy seems to be the same for them. There is almost everything that can be found at this time of year: cabbage, cucumbers, carefully washed and sorted potatoes, apples, beets, carrots, turnips, yellow and green onions, garlic, and grapefruit. And everything is of excellent quality. I was told that about 2 weeks ago there were tomatoes as well. But now they will not be for sale before spring—it is the so-called "dead season" in the hothouses. I observed variations on the same picture in other stores. But will this abundance disappear, say, in a month?

"There is no question of that," I was assured by the chief of the procurement and sales department of the oblast agroprom, G. Dorofeyev. "During past years the oblast has tripled its vegetable crop. Naturally, we no longer have to limit our supplies. Now we store up for winter enough to last us until the next harvest."

The dry steppe zone with its severe climate is not the most favorable place for cultivating vegetable crops. If the farms grew them previously it was more for appearances than anything else. The oblast plan was regularly unfulfilled. And suddenly these changes! What happened?

"To be frank," said the first secretary of the Tselinograd Party Obkom, A. Braun, "we simply got tired of going around holding out our hands. The fact is that in a short period of time we were able to provide ourselves with meat and dairy products. So what was keeping us from having our own vegetables? I shall not deny that the conditions for raising them were certainly not the most favorable. But at the same time they were not as bad as was thought previously.

"Up until recently, for example, everyone was convinced that there was no way for watermelons to survive here. And dozens of brigades immediately began to dig up the melon patches. Only on the Krasnoyarskiy Sovkhoz were 100 hectares allotted to them. And what happened? This turned out to be advantageous for the enterprise, and this year it sold the population 4,500 tons of watermelons that it had produced itself while the annual consumption was 8,500 tons. Some things were not well thought out. What was left over was canned in 98,000 containers, and back to the stores.

It was not so much a matter of climate as of the economic incentive for the farms. The prices for vegetables were low, and everything involved manual labor. And there were immense losses in the planted areas and the transshipment bases.

"First of all we decided to mechanize the basic processes and change vegetable growing over to advanced technology," Andrey Georgiyevich continued the discussion. "We relied mainly on rental collectives, and as it turned out we did not miss our guess."

It is easy to say that it is necessary to relieve people of manual labor. But what if domestic industry does not produce any of certain kinds of technical equipment? They modified what they had, at local plants. They got the rest of it wherever they could.

"Even from abroad," the deputy chairman of the oblagroprom, Ye. Blokh, explained. "Now the farmer's hands are no longer tied so tightly and it would be foolish not to take advantage of this circumstance. For example, a couple of days ago we concluded an agreement with the Italian firm R. Levadi. It was interested in our horses and we were interested in their lines for processing potatoes. We consider the transaction to be advantageous. Under similar conditions we acquired from the GDR combines for harvesting carrots and other equipment."

As they announced in the oblast agroprom, the cultivation of the majority of vegetable crops is now fully mechanized. The broad road is opened up for the utilization of Astrakhan and Ulyanov technologies everywhere. One can judge how this has affected the results of farming from the example of the suburban Zarechnyy Sovkhoz.

This farm was confidently standing on its feet even before. But with the changeover to the new forms of work something unheard of occurred: The sovkhoz doubled its vegetable sales. Now it alone satisfies the city's needs for vitamin products.

In the words of the director of Zarechnyy, Ye. Shishov, this was the result of economic incentives. The collective, whose earnings depend directly on the farm's gross income, developed an interest in the business. Losses in the field and during transportation decreased sharply—the vegetable growers began to sell the products directly to the stores. The proportion of labor brought in from outside decreased by a factor of 10. And there you have it—last year the sovkhoz had R1.5 million in profit from vegetables. This year they intend to receive even more. To achieve this they have expanded the area of the early vegetable hothouses and are raising zucchini, eggplant, and summer squash under the plastic. Recently a lemon grove was planted in a covered area—it promises to provide the city with citrus fruits.

But the abundance that has appeared in the stores cannot be considered to be the result of the increase in gross output alone, the specialists told me. Did certain farms not receive large crops previously as well? What they did with them is another matter. Very frequently the products either remained on the ground or were later transformed into compost. There was no place to store them—in 1983 all the capacities could barely handle 5,400 tons of potatoes and vegetables. It is no wonder that even by December the shelves of the stores were completely empty.

"It is a different matter now," says the deputy director of the Plodoovoshch association's vegetable base, V. Tretyakov. "We can store up to 30,000 tons of products without any trouble, and you can be confident that they will be sold the next fall."

Workers of the base have a direct interest in preserving what has been stored there. They are linked to their partners through khozraschet relations, and they are not indifferent to the condition and quantity of goods that are delivered to the consumer. In order to reduce losses they have introduced container shipment of vegetables and put sorting lines into operation. Potatoes, onions, carrots, and apples arrive at the stores, as a rule, only in net bags.

The storage facility, which was introduced in Tselinograd 3 years ago, has become the envy of our neighbors. And yet it was constructed from local materials and with the participation of the city residents by the so-called people's construction method. Somebody had to be made responsible—this could not be avoided—but it was the enterprises that took the responsibility that were the first to have their work alleviated. They almost never had to ask people to unload or sort vegetables. And it was no problem to divide them up: 70 percent of the products were put into the refrigerated storage facilities. Even in the dead of winter they looked as though they had just come from the gardens.

Nonetheless the farms are beginning to acquire their own storage facilities. They have already been acquired by the Zarechnyy and Novoaleksandrovskiy Sovkhozes and the sovkhoz-tekhnikum. Why? Here is what I heard from Ye. Shishov:

"Even now we are experiencing difficulties with the sale of products. And what will happen when we expand production? Instead of profit we will begin to sustain losses. We must arrange our own processing, and to do this we need the appropriate storage facilities."

The Novoaleksandrovskiy Sovkhoz is already producing a million conventional cans of various kinds of salads and relishes. It has assimilated the processing of substandard products at a central base. Zarechenskiy workers have begun to construct a plant with a capacity of 3 million cans. What is disadvantageous for the farms is turned over to the cooperatives. Thus the Feniks began to produce pickled cabbage. This year it prepared 300 tons, and for all tastes: regular, with apples, with beets, Korean.... The prices are a little higher than state prices but people are happy to buy them, because the quality is excellent. As the chairman of Feniks, S. Tsoy, said, the cooperative members put the money they earn back into circulation; they are organizing the production of jams and potato sticks.

It might seem that Tselinograd has no problem with vegetables at all. But this is not the case. The domestic market is actually saturated with certain products both winter and summer. But if there are always green vegetables in the oblast center, they are to be found much less frequently in the rayons.

True, the situation is beginning to change. The oblast is expanding the area of hothouses by a factor of 2.5. Great hopes are being placed in the results of cooperation with the southern regions of the republic. Surplus potatoes, cabbages, and carrots are sent there and in return they ship melons, apples, grapes, and much of what they produce themselves. All this is distributed evenly among rural and city stores and they all receive their fair share.

No, there is no longer a trace of the previous scarcity in Tselinograd stores. There is something to buy and there is something to think about. For it is possible to solve food problems locally. And it does not have to take years.

Military

Gen Lizichev Gives Series of Political Speeches

Rally at 'X' Garrison

PM0602102189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Our correspondent report: "Political Workers' Rally"]

[Text] A 2-day political workers' rally has been held at "X" garrison. There was discussion of ways to implement the directives of the 19th All-Union Party Conference on affirming political methods of leadership in party practice and the tasks of political organs and party organizations stemming from the need to reorient all their activity toward qualitative parameters of defense building. Lieutenant General I. Kurinnyy delivered a report.

Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, spoke to the participants in the rallies [plural noun as published].

Kamchatka Meeting

PM0802105189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Correspondent Captain Third Class M. Lukanin report under the rubric "Elections of USSR People's Deputies": "Meetings in Kamchatka"]

[Text] In Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy on 4 and 5 February the garrison's Communists held preelection meetings with Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate and candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU.

The program for his future activity as a deputy, which he presented based on the firm and steadfast implementation of the line of restructuring in the Armed Forces, has received a high evaluation from Far East servicemen, Pacific Fleet sailors, and border troops. This was said during meetings with the candidate people's deputy by V.I. Solyanik, a political worker and officer; V.I. Voznyuk, an officer; Colonel V.I. Raydugin, secretary of the party committee of the Kamchatka Border District Troop Directorate; and other participants in the preelection meetings. Resolutions adopted unanimously support Army Gen A.D. Lizichev s nomination as candidate USSR people's deputy from the Communist Party.

Army Gen A.D. Lizichev answered numerous questions from voters and assured them that all their instructions and wishes would be closely examined and considered in the process of current work.

Chita Oblast Meeting

PM0802124489 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by unnamed TASS correspondent under the rubric "Elections of USSR People's Deputies": "Program Working for Restructuring"]

[Text] Chita, 7 Feb—The process of restructuring in the USSR Armed Forces is indissolubly linked with the transformations taking place in all spheres of Soviet society's life—this was stated by Army General A.D. Lizichev, candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU and chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, at a meeting held today with the party and economic aktiv of Chita Oblast and representatives of the Order of Lenin Transbaykal Military District.

A.D. Lizichev dwelt on the tasks that must be resolved by the Army and Navy if our country is to continue to act as guarantor of peace and stability in the world in light of the changing international situation. In this connection he stressed that a most important avenue of the policy of restructuring in the Armed Forces is the training of ideologically mature, highly skilled cadres. It is also important to be extremely attentive toward servicemen who will be discharged to the reserves as a result of the reduction of the USSR Armed Forces.

The candidate deputy was given many instructions at the meeting. Those present said that it is necessary to continue to follow strictly the line of strengthening political organs, military discipline, and links between the Army and the people. Particular attention should be paid to concern for war and labor veterans and to improving the housing and living conditions of officers and ensigns.

Army General A.D. Lizichev assured the Transbaykal people that he will carefully study and take into account all the instructions and proposals.